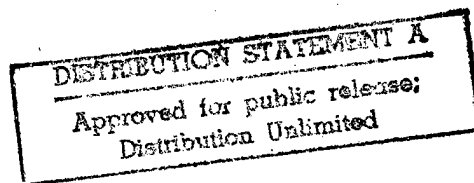


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25 October 1983



USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1469

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25 October 1983

USSR REPORT
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

VISITING CHURCHMAN ACCUSES SOVIETS OF 'GIVING UP' ON REAGAN IN ARMS CONTROL TALKS

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Aug 83 pp 10-11

[Round-table conference under rubric "LG [LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] Press Club":
"We Do Not Have the Right to Sit Around Idly and Wait. . ."]

[Text] Recently, at the invitation of the Russian Orthodox Church, a large group of Presbyterians from the United States visited the Soviet Union. The group included clergymen, theologians, church activists. . . The Americans visited a number of cities in our country and communicated broadly with the faithful. At the end of their stay in our country, a discussion was conducted in Moscow. Representatives of the Moscow Patriarchate took part in that discussion. The chief topic of the discussion was the activity of the church in the defense of the peace, in the saving of mankind from the threat of a nuclear war.

Four representatives of the group -- Richard Killmer, the head of the Presbyterian Program for Peace; Ms. Helen Hamilton; theology professor Bruce Rigdon; and clergyman John Lindner -- before departing from Moscow and returning to the United States replied to questions asked at the LG Press Club.

The logic of the ideas expressed by the American religious figures, it seems to us, will enable our readers to gain a better understanding of what occurs in the minds and hearts of many American believers, those with whom our conversational partners have to deal with constantly.

[Question] LG: This question pertains to those of you who are in the Soviet Union for the first time. What ideas that were formed in the United States about our country were confirmed? And what did you find to be completely different from what you had imagined?

[Answer] R. Killmer: Of everything that I saw and learned during the ten days that I spent in the Soviet Union, the thing that struck me most was the passionate striving of Soviet citizens for peace. We visited a large number of your churches. Speaking to the believers, we expressed our concern

about the state of affairs in a world that is under threat. People everywhere listened to us with the greatest amount of attention, frequently with tears in their eyes. The believers told us that they share our feelings. They told us about the horrors that they experienced during the past war, and about the sufferings that that war brought to every family. No, Soviet people do not want war. I heard their prayers for peace. I heard the great amount of feeling with which the world "peace" is pronounced. . .

[Question] LG: When you were in the United States, did you have any real idea of the devastation, about the extent of the sacrifices that were made by our nation in the Great Patriotic War?

[Answer] R. Killmer: Yes, of course. But if I knew it, it was, so to speak, with my mind, rather than with my heart. I did not feel that striving that Soviet people have for peace, a striving that is burning to the point of tears. I did not realize that the memory of the war is still alive among the people. I was shocked to see the way people in the churches pray for peace. And when I return to the United States I shall tell about that shock that I experienced. I shall speak about it in all the churches in which I shall be speaking to the believers.

[Answer] H. Hamilton: During World War II I was living in England. I had to endure terrible bombings, and I lost my beloved home there. Therefore I could say that my feelings, my memory of the war, are similar to the feelings of Soviet people. Their sufferings are close to me and understandable to me. That is how it was during a war in which our peoples were allies, when they fought together for a great goal. That is why I felt that I was ready for a meeting with Soviet people. But our trip showed that I was not ready for it. The emotions evoked by that meeting are so strong that. . .

[Question] LG: We would like to ask you a question that arose on the basis of numerous letters written by our readers. We address it to you, to the pastors who lead the believers after them, and who therefore know their flock. What does the American nation know about the proposals made by the Soviet government with regard to the prevention of a nuclear war, and with regard to disarmament? Our readers are greatly concerned about the reports to the effect that the American press has remained silent about a number of very important proposals that were expressed by the Soviet government and by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov.

[Answer] D. Lindner: Marshall Shomber of Columbia University says that the shortage of information conceals possibly the large fear in the modern world. Our newspapers differ considerably with regard to the quality of issuing of information and its volume. Some of them -- the most important ones, such as THE NEW YORK TIMES -- publish materials about international events, and the speeches of the chiefs of government. Others -- the small and medium-sized newspapers and the local press -- do not pay any attention to international events. I suspect that the same thing occurs in many of the Western countries. And, for the most part, people read the local newspapers. Thus, they do not develop the habit of searching in their newspaper for the international news. The newspaper men, in turn, do not attempt to comment on this kind of news, since there is no interest in it. . .

[Question] LG: We have heard that point of view expressed frequently by our American associates. The newspapers in the United States readily publish reports about floods and airplane crashes, fires, and robberies. They call all this "general interest" news. But it seems to us that what we are dealing with here is not the approach to the news, but rather a purposeful policy. What, one might ask, in this atmosphere of international tension can be more important for an American than, for example, the proposals of the Soviet Union concerning the limiting of the arms race and the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe? But they are not being published. And this pertains not only to the small and medium-sized newspapers, but also to such newspapers as THE NEW YORK TIMES. And even if they do publish them, it is in a distorted form.

[Answer] D. Lindner: Therefore we consider these contacts between American church figures and the Russian Orthodox Church to be so important. They enable us to obtain and discussion information about many aspects of the Soviet proposals concerning the limitation of missile, nuclear weapons, concerning the freeze, concerning the proposals of the Soviet government with regard to the missiles in Europe, and with regard to an equal number of war-heads. . . . Thanks to these and other numerous contacts, the Americans, in my view, have some idea, albeit in general features, of the Soviet proposals. And those proposals are finding a positive response. . . .

[Answer] B. Rigdon: I agree that the problem of obtaining correct, objective information exists. But being informed does not yet resolve all the problems of relations. I am afraid that certain Americans who receive, or who have the opportunity to receive, complete information, to read the Soviet proposals, such as the proposals, for example, that were made by Mr. Andropov, will be inclined to feel that the side that is making the proposals says one thing, but is planning something else.

This attitude toward information is the result of ideological discrepancies, of different views concerning peace. A situation is being formed in which people hear one another, but they do not listen. That is why I consider it to be the task of our church to do everything to assure that people not only hear, do not only receive the information, but also listen to it, and believe what they are told. For this purpose it is necessary to change the atmosphere in which the words are pronounced. It is necessary to have reciprocal trust. We are attempting, to the best of our efforts, to promote the creation of this kind of atmosphere of trust, of hope for progress, first in negotiations, and then in the documents that consolidate the agreements between the governments. We are placing large hopes on the negotiations in Geneva. We feel that both our nations need to have the participants in the negotiations take specific steps to meet one another halfway, and to achieve agreements that are worthy of trust.

[Answer] R. Killmer: Meetings with many Soviet citizens have convinced us that they are confident that their country is peace-loving, and have convinced us that the Soviet Union is attempting only to defend itself when it is attacked.

But the people in our country also believe that our nation is peace-loving. And the difficulty lies in proving to one another that each is peace-loving. Soviet citizens do not believe that the Americans are peace-loving. The Americans do not believe that the peoples of the USSR are peace-loving.

In 1963 our nations found within themselves the strength to prove to one another that they were peace-loving. And both nations believed in that proof (Ed. note: the topic of discussion is the signing of the Soviet-American agreement to ban the testing of nuclear weapons in the three spheres). That is what we need today.

[Question] LG: A peace-loving attitude is proven by actions. We feel that our government completely reflects the will of the masses of the people and primarily the striving of Soviet citizens for peace, a striving that has produced such an impression on you. You people who are sitting here are well informed about the moods of Soviet citizens, about the steps of good will and the proposals of the Soviet government in the area of eliminating the threat of nuclear war. You constantly communicate with the believers. Is it difficult for you to prove to them that if one side -- the Soviet Union -- publicly and responsibly announces its refusal to be the first to deliver a nuclear strike, then the other side -- the United States -- should also assume the same obligation?

[Answer] R. Killmer: The speech by Mr. A. Gromyko, in which he announced the refusal to be the first to deliver a nuclear strike, was published in the press, and was transmitted over television at prime time. But I think that the Americans did not believe the genuineness of that promise. Rather, they thought that it was a diplomatic ploy. . .

[Question] LG: But even if that proposal that was made by our Minister of Foreign Affairs Gromyko can be perceived as a "diplomatic ploy," then why doesn't the American government take the same course of action and also pledge not to be the first to employ nuclear weapons?

[Answer] B. Rigdon: Personally, when I listened to Mr. Gromyko, I believed his good will and the good will of the government in whose name he was acting. I am a Christian and our faith commands us: believe. And we see our task in working with all our strength, and we are working with all our strength, attempting to change the position of the United States, to change the relations between our countries for the better.

[Question] LG: We would like to answer another question that is troubling many of our readers. When one listens to or becomes acquainted with the statements made by the highest figures in the American administration with regard to the placement of new nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the impression is created that they seriously believe in the possibility of a limited nuclear war in Europe, that they are hoping, in the course of that war, to sit it out calmly on the other side of the ocean. This is also attested to by the well-known strategic calculations made by the American military who are planning a "limited" nuclear war. But what do the broad masses of Americans think in this regard?

[Answer] D. Lindner: The people who hope that they can sit it out on the other side of the ocean believe in the possibility of a "limited" nuclear war. But for the most part, it seems to me, Americans are only guessing at what nuclear weapons are really like. And they are frightened of them.

[Answer] B. Rigdon: I'd like to make two comments. First, many Europeans see themselves as being squeezed between the two nuclear powers. And they understand what nuclear war on their own territory means. The experience of World War II, the tragedy of that war, are still alive. That explains the unrest that is felt by millions of Europeans -- Christians and nonbelievers -- an unrest that is caused by the development of the nuclear arms race. It is no accident that the mass antinuclear movement began first in Europe and then spread to the United States. It is precisely the Europeans who began to teach the Americans that such a concept as a "limited" nuclear war does not exist. I do not have any statistical data concerning public opinion in this regard. But more and more people, in churches and outside of them, are beginning to understand that a nuclear war that is begun in Europe would spread to the entire world. That is one of those truths that we are attempting to make our believers completely aware of: the horrors of nuclear war and its sinful nature. The sinfulness of a war that can annihilate other nations. We point out the illusory and sinful nature of the hope of being able to preserve oneself while destroying another nation. I think that is precisely that idea that is today leading millions of Americans to participation in the antiwar movement.

[Question] LG: Millions of people are participating in peace marches, doctors and authors, scientists and students, are protesting, but the U.S. government and its NATO allies are continuing to push the world toward nuclear catastrophe. What could you tell our readers that the peace proponents in the United States have achieved concretely? What are the results of that movement?

[Answer] R. Killmer: The results have been tangible. Your readers, obviously, know about the "freeze" vote in the House of Representatives. A year ago that vote would have been simply impossible. At that time our politicians felt that the supporting of the idea of a freeze would lead to a loss of votes in the election. Now they know that if they do not vote for a freeze, they do not have anything to hope for in the 1984 election.

[Answer] B. Rigdon: Your readers, obviously, also know about the message sent by the Catholic bishops to President Reagan. That message is a very important document. It reflects the general mood of Americans.

[Answer] D. Lindner: On the other hand, the impression is being formed that people in the Soviet Union are no longer hoping for any changes in the policy of the Reagan administration and are waiting for 1984, and the arrival in the White House of another administration, with which there will be more opportunities for coming to an agreement. If that is so, it is an erroneous position, inasmuch as, whatever president arrives at the White House, the problem of trust among nations will remain and it is necessary to work on that problem. Every delay in that process plays into the hand of the forces that are sowing distrust. We ourselves criticize the president for his attitudes toward the problem of a freeze. But we are against those who say that it is necessary to sit around idly and wait for 1984. We do not have the right to sit around idly!

[Answer] R. Killmer: In this sense it would be extremely important for the Soviet government to continue to act in the direction of achieving mutual understanding, by contributing to the creation of a climate of trust.

[Question] LG: And it is acting in that way. It continuously brings forth constructive proposals on the basis of which it is possible to conduct serious negotiations. Unfortunately, our proposals remain unanswered. And one final question. Could you tell us whether the U.S. promilitaristic forces create any difficulties for those who speak out in favor of peace and disarmament?

[Answer] Everyone: No!

[Question] LG: We have a different impression. So it will be necessary to explain why that question arose. We know that your preacher Billy Graham, who made a visit to the Soviet Union, was subjected to a sharp attack in the American press, and we know that he was criticized for his position on questions of war and peace, and for having gone to the Soviet Union. In this regard, people wrote in your newspapers that Billy Graham had lost his influence about believers. Is that true?

[Answer] B. Rigdon: I'll begin by saying that I have a tremendous amount of respect for Billy Graham because, at his age, he found within himself the strength to change his attitude to two very serious problems. First, he came to the conclusion that faith in Jesus Christ does not have anything to do with the ideology that is predominant in a particular country or with the social and political system. . . . And, secondly, he discovered for himself that the most important question for the church today is the problem of saving the world from nuclear catastrophe. That is the question that we are all concerned with.

And now concerning the press attack against Billy Graham. Last year I myself took part in the world of the World Conference that was held in Moscow under the slogan "Religious Figures of the World Against Nuclear Catastrophe." I was unpleasantly surprised by the attitude of the American press to that very important event. The U.S. press not only attempted to downplay the basic document of that conference, but also provided distorted information about what occurred at the conference. That was disgraceful. I can say that the press spoke out both against Mr. Graham and against everything that occurred at the conference in Moscow.

Before departing for the Soviet Union I had a meeting with Mr. Graham and I asked him almost the same thing that you just asked us. He answered that in his mail -- and there is tremendous amount of it, more than 10,000 letters a day -- the overwhelming majority of the writers express their support of what he had done to prevent nuclear apocalypse. I do not have any justification for disbelieving that. And so I can say that Mr. Graham's prestige and influence, despite the attacks in the press, and despite the unofficial but nevertheless frankly manifested, sharply negative attitude toward him on the part of the administration, or, it might be better to say, on the part of certain people in the White House, have not suffered seriously.

And now, if you will allow me, I would like to make a statement.

I hope that millions of the readers of your newspapers know that the churches of the Soviet Union are making a large contribution to the cause of defending

the peace. I could enumerate what has been done during recent time alone: the acceptance of delegations such as ours, symposiums and conferences, trips abroad by representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church. . . . We have a particular interest in the peace-making activities of the churches in the Soviet Union, inasmuch as the contacts among the believers make it possible to improve that very climate of trust that we were speaking about today. I would like that to continue unhindered.

You asked us about what the chances are for the preservation of the peace, and we could not answer that question. But I shall say frankly: so long as your church acts in this direction, speaks out in favor of peace on the world scene, the chances of preventing a nuclear catastrophe are increasing.

That is the discussion that took place at the LG press club with American church figures, people who, by their very act of coming to our country, demonstrated their attitude toward the problems of war and peace, the breadth of their views, their readiness to cooperate in the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe. And at the same time one must not fail to direct his attention to certain of the fears expressed in this discussion, fears which, from our point of view, are somewhat unjustified. Let us consider two factors. For example, what could have led our conversational partners to the idea that the Soviet government, so to speak, has waved off the Reagan administration, does not want to conduct serious negotiations with it, and is waiting for the 1984 election? The persons who continue stubbornly to force that idea on Americans are those who have an interest in weakening the American peace movement. That is the origin of the attitude: just sit around idly and wait for 1984. . . .

And now a few words about the concern expressed by B. Rigdon with regard to the peace-making activities of the churches in the Soviet Union. The U.S. promilitaristic circles, who have cast thunder and lightning upon the Catholic and other figures in the American church for the position on a nuclear freeze, would like to represent the situation as though in our country the churches that speak out in favor of peace and disarmament evoke the government's dissatisfaction. And yet our guests themselves could be convinced that, actually, everything is completely different.

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CSO: 1800/1649

INTERNATIONAL

BLOC TRADE UNIONS ISSUE APPEAL ON WORLD PEACE

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 3 Oct 83 pp 1-3.

["Act Before It Is too Late: Appeal by Trade Unions of European Socialist Countries to the Trade Unions and Working People of Europe"]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends!

The working people of Europe!

We appeal to you at a disquieting time. Never before the future of our continent and the existence of human civilization faced such a threat as it does now.

The threat of war is becoming close and real as never before as the deadline for the implementation of NATO's decision to deploy American medium-range missiles in Europe is drawing near.

Nuclear arsenals grow so fast that Europe and the whole world can become in a matter of seconds a horrible and silent tomb of humankind and its millennia-old civilization.

The deployment of new American missiles will undoubtedly have grave consequences. It would provoke a new round of the arms race with all its negative political, military and social implications. We remember that even at the Fourth European Trade Union Conference representatives of European trade union centres jointly called for "unification for the complete destruction of all nuclear weapons trained on Europe or stationing in Europe." Peace and international security can be ensured only through universal disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament.

The peoples and working men of Europe face a climacteric choice. We are convinced that there is only one solution: it is unification and the struggle for the salvation of Europe and the world as a whole from nuclear catastrophe. Although we live in countries with different social systems, we have common interests. Europe must become a continent of lasting peace and cooperation for the good of the peoples. Peace can be safeguarded and strengthened if we firmly get it under control.

At the same time, we cannot shut our eyes to the harsh truth that the arms race requires vast resources and prevents millions of the most skilled workers and the most competent experts and scientists from doing productive work. These vast resources could have been used for the solution of major social problems, such as the creation of new jobs, the struggle to combat unemployment and poverty, environmental protection, the overcoming of backwardness of the developing countries and aid to them, and the raising of the living standards of the working people.

Time is pressing hard. We must act before it is too late.

By their increasingly active actions, members of trade unions, their national centres and all who cherish peace in all European countries demand:

--that the plans to deploy new nuclear weapons in Europe be scrapped and that nuclear weapons already deployed there be reduced on the basis of equality and equal security;

--that negotiations should continue and rearmament plans be given up;

--that all disputes between states be settled through negotiation;

--that the member countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO conclude a treaty on mutual non-use of force and on preserving peaceful relations;

--that the nuclear powers pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons;

--that non-nuclear zones be created in Europe;

--that Europe be cleared from all nuclear weapons.

Our vehement and belief- and hope-filled appeal to all is an appeal to unity of actions for peace, the most important problem of our time. We should not miss the historic chance to make our contribution to the great battle of the nations in the 1980's, the battle to prevent a thermonuclear war.

We invite you to a meeting of representatives of European trade unions devoted to negotiations on trade unions' contribution to the cause of promoting peace and disarmament.

The international meeting "Trade Unions and Peace," which is to be held in Sofia from October 25 to 27, and our other initiatives are open to you.

We count on your understanding and are waiting for your proposals. Let the members of the trade unions of our continent raise their strong voice during the UN Week for Peace and Disarmament.

Comrades and friends!

The working people of Europe!

We are deeply convinced that the further deterioration of the situation in Europe can be halted. We hold out our hand to you and urge you to hold joint, united and vigorous actions to safeguard peace and life on our continent and promote detente, disarmament, security and cooperation in Europe.

Europe needs trust and we can help create it.

Europe needs peace and we can help safeguard it.

Europe needs a better future and we can ensure it.

Petar Dyulgerov, Chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions;

Sandor Gaspar, General Secretary of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions;

Harry Tisch, Chairman of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions;

Constantin Nita, Secretary of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania;

Stepan Shalayev, Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions;

Karel Hoffman, Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Czechoslovakia.

Berlin, September 30

(TRUD, October 1. In full.)

CSO: 1812/8

INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET ROLE IN CONSTRUCTION OF NIGERIAN METALLURGICAL PLANT DESCRIBED

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 28, 8-14 Jul 83 p 7

[Article by Georgiy Kuznetsov: "Abeokuta :--the Nigerian Magnitka"]

[Text] "Built with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union." This phrase pertains equally to one-tenth of the major enterprises, above all, those of heavy industry, constructed during the last 20--25 years in the developing countries. Who has not heard about the renowned metallurgical plants in Bhilai and Bokaro or the heavy machine-building plant in Ranchi, which have become monuments to Soviet-Indian friendship! The Euphrates Hydroelectric Power Station in Syria, metallurgical combines in Algeria and Turkey, an aluminum plant in the ARE [Arab Republic of Egypt], construction projects in Libya, Iraq, Democratic Yemen, Pakistan, Bolivia--one cannot list them all here. At the present time among the largest projects being carried out abroad by Soviet specialists is the metallurgical plant in Abeokuta (Nigeria). This report deals with the days of labor by the builders on the eve of the start-up of operations, as well as the international aid extended by our country to young states which are struggling to achieve economic independence.

The road sign, which appeared unexpectedly at the edge of the highway, straight as an arrow and deserted, indicated the following: straight ahead--to the Niger River, to the right, under the bridge--to the metallurgical plant. Shortly thereafter, in the gaps between the trees with their curly crowns, there gleamed two high smokestacks, painted white with bright red stripes "on the throat"; they rose in their gigantic dimensions over the production wing. Our vehicle measured off kilometer after kilometer, and parallel to us, behind a rather low ridge of sand and a green "fence" there stretched the territory of the construction project. Finally a large, wooden signboard appeared with the inscription: Abeokuta Steel Company."

The Nigerian State "Abeokuta Steel Company" is the customer and the future producer of operations at this full-production-cycle plant, which will turn out cast iron, steel, and various types of rolled products (see ZA RUBEZHOM No 22, 1983). The raw materials on which it will operate are primarily local in origin: the

iron-ore deposit, which is located about 60 kilometers from the plant, was discovered by Soviet geologists. They found limestone, dolomites, and other "additives" necessary for the process of making metal. And only coking coal still needs to be imported from abroad.

Construction is being carried out by the Soviet Tyazhpromeksport V/O [Foreign-Trade Association].

The administration building, at the entrance to which hangs a small sign stating "Tyazhpromeksport V/O--General Directorate," is a simple, barracks-type building, divided into cubicles for offices. Only the general director, Ivan Nikolayevich Khokhlov, a deputy minister of special and installation work, has a somewhat larger room. There are diagrams of the construction on the wall, and a long table for the participants in "working conferences."

Exactly 50 years ago he defended his diploma project, having begun his own working career as a foreman. He now bears on his shoulders the responsibility for many construction projects in the Motherland, and he has participated in the construction of metallurgical plants in India, Turkey, and Algeria. And, of course, he has an enormous amount of experience.

"We are working in accordance with an inter-governmental agreement. The contract, which was signed in 1979, provided for the construction of a plant with a complete metallurgical cycle, having a first-stage capacity of 1.3 million tons of steel per year and a second-stage capacity of as much as 2.6 million. The plan has also been designed for a possible expansion of the plant to a capacity of 5 million tons of steel," stated I. N. Khokhlov.

Is this a great deal or too little? Judge for yourselves. Two years ago the steel consumption in this country amounted to 3.2 million tons, and practically all of it was imported from abroad. By 1990 metal consumption will grow to 6.5 million tons. It is clear that importing it and, moreover, that prices will constantly increase, would be disastrous for Nigeria.

On the construction diagram in I. N. Khokhlov's office it may be seen that the territory of the plant (and this comprises 26 square kilometers) has been divided by several colored lines. It turns out that these indicate the "domains" of three Western firms: in addition to Tyazhpromeksport, three more independent contractors are operating here--the French Fougere Company, the Franco-Italian Dumais, and the West-German Berger. They are carrying out the earthwork and concrete work, preparing the foundations for all the production buildings and units, and erecting the walls of the workshops.

Some such division of labor is, obviously, necessary. But it also entails difficulties. The Western firms have lagged significantly behind the schedule for preparing the work front. This has sharply curtailed the time periods available for installing the heavy and complex equipment for which Tyazhpromeksport is responsible (this association developed the plan for this plant and is supplying all the units and metal structural components for it). Furthermore, the Nigerians have requested that the deadlines for starting up the 320 Rolling Mill be moved

up from December of the present year, as provided for by the agreement, to the middle of this year.

Even those having nothing to do with construction and installation work will easily understand with what furious intensity, under extremely complex climatic conditions (when temperatures of 40°C are a common phenomenon) these Soviet people have to work. There are also quite a few other difficulties: ships delivering equipment which is urgently needed on the construction project stand in port too long before being unloaded; there are delays in financing; also considerably behind schedule is the introduction of housing for the installation workers and metallurgists, housing which is supposed to be provided by the local companies.

"Turning over the plant's facilities begins at the end of the production cycle, at the 320 Small-Section Rolling Mill, at the request of the Nigerians," explained I. N. Khokhlov. "In December we plan to turn over for operation the 150 Wire-Drawing Mill. The plans also provide for the construction of the 900/630 Billet Mill and the 700 Medium-Section Girder-Steel Mill. Meanwhile, construction is proceeding on the blast furnaces, coking batteries, the TETs /Heat and Electric-Power Station/, and other facilities. Completion of all work on the plant's first phase is envisioned for 1985.

We were shown about the construction site by the chief of the Production Department, Grigoriy Ivanovich Fomin, a veteran of Chelyabinskgrazhdanstroy. The first facility, turned over for operations in the middle of April, was the main distributor sub-station (GRP), the electrical-engineering heart of the plant. Until the plant's own TETs is ready, current will be obtained with the aid of a high-voltage transmission line from Benin City. The plant has already been switched into it.

At the GRP we met a tall, thick-set man in a dark suit and a hard hat.

G. I. Fomin introduced us to each other. "I'd like you to meet the deputy general director of the Abeokuta Steel Company, Mr. Achilefu."

"Hello," the latter said in Russian, explaining that he had studied in the USSR and had worked during his probationary service period in Leningrad at the Elektrosila, at a turbine plant in Khar'kov, the Cherepovetskiy Metallurgical Plant, at the Zaporozhstal', and at the ZIL /Lenin Plant/. In Abeokuta he is responsible from the Nigerian side for the installation work in the electrical systems and the machine shops.

"How is it working with Soviet specialists?"

"Splendid. They are putting their heart and soul into their work, sincerely helping the Nigerian people. Together with the Soviet construction managers, we are jointly solving the most complex problems."

"Are you satisfied with the equipment?"

"It is of high quality. And it is important that our people are being helped to master it."

Inspecting the GRP along with M. I. Achilefu was a representative of an Indian consultative firm, Vinera Narayan. His firm is taking part in the work in the name of the customer. It turns out that he too is an engineer of the Soviet school: he studied in Leningrad, took his practical experience at the Elektrosila, and worked on the giants of Indian heavy industry in Bhilai, Ranchi, and Bokaro, which were built with Soviet technical assistance.

"Convey Our Thanks to the Soviet Union"

"Models of heroic labor were shown by the brigades which worked on the installation of equipment at the main distributor sub-station--the brigades of A. S. Ignat'yev and V. A. Fal'kanfal, as well as the brigade of R. G. Spivak from the Elektromontazh Khar'kov Trust, which laid a custom-made, oil-filled cable for supplying electric power to the rolling mill during a period of 3.5 months instead of 7 in accordance with the norm!" said Vadim Semenovitch Potapenko, the deputy general director and chief of the TETsstroy Administration.

Near the concrete "honeycombs" of the future coking battery, which are still very far from completion, our attention was drawn to an enormous kind of "house," several storeys high and placed on rails.

"This is the temporary enclosure for construction work," explained G. I. Fomin. "According to the technology involved, it is erected upon completion of the construction of the coking batteries. But the concrete work fell so far behind schedule that, if we maintained the strict sequence, we would not turn the project over on time. And so, at the suggestion of I. N. Khokhlov, we erected this temporary enclosure on the side. And later we will roll it along the rails into place within a 24-hour period."

Nearby, concrete work was proceeding on the foundation of the blast furnace, and several meters away the consolidated assembly of a large-diameter tuyere ring was taking place: this was also an "unfinished piece" for the future--the units which have been assembled on the ground will be lifted directly into the places of their installation with the aid of heavy-duty cranes.

"Upon the recommendation of the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work, we are the first group abroad to have recourse to the method, originated in the Soviet Union, of conveyor-type installation of metal structural components, whereby blocks weighing as much as 100--130 tons are assembled on the ground. This simplifies the work, increases safety, and allows us to save time, which is so dear to us," it was later explained to us by the technical director, Valentin Alekseyevich Prokopenko, who had come to Abeokuta from Zhdanov.

The chief of the installation of rolled-metal production, Valeriy Alekseyevich Chirkov, had worked in Magnitogorsk. Now under his command are approximately 500 persons: the 320 Mill is a facility of the first phase, and work is proceeding in two and even three shifts. Stretching to a distance of hundreds of meters

from the heating furnace were rough, intermediate, and finished store-rooms, a line of cuts, etc. All about the work was bustling--some units were still just being installed, others were being postponed, while a third group were already being tested.

It was also here in the workshop that we met the Soviet director for operations, Ivan Andreyevich Kritinin, who had been sent by the Kuznetskiy Metallurgical Combine. He was literally looking into every corner.

"According to the conditions of the contract, this plant will be handed over 'in turnkey condition'--completely ready. I am accepting it, in essence, in the name of the customer in accordance with the Soviet norms. And it is not just a matter of my comrades and I having to produce metal, working hand in hand with the Nigerians. We understand the enormous political importance of a high quality of work: you know, our country will be judged, to a large extent, by how this plant will be operated. From Adzhaokuta steel will be delivered to almost all the rolled-metal plants which are already in operation or under construction in Nigeria."

What was I. A. Kritinin's opinion of the Nigerian engineers?

"They are likable, technically well-versed people. I think that we can manage to work together."

I managed to meet some of those persons about whom the Soviet director was speaking. Among them was the assistant to the general director of the Adzhaokuta Steel Company for the installation of electrical equipment, Abdrakhman Takhar; he is a graduate of the Leningrad Polytechnical Institute imeni M. I. Kalinin and an electrician by trade. He had devoted a considerable amount of time to working with his Soviet colleagues in preparing the main distributor sub-station for start-up. Now he was satisfied; the current had been delivered on time.

Yet another assistant to the general director is the mechanical engineer Oli Odzha, a specialist on blast-furnace production and a graduate of a Soviet VUZ.

"I am happy that I was among those who were chosen for instruction in the Soviet Union," he said in Russian, although 14 years had already elapsed since the time of his graduation. "At that time many of us still did not understand why Nigeria needed such personnel. Now the time has come to give back the skills which we acquired to the service of our homeland."

And it is good that there is a coincidence of thought between Oli Odzha and I. A. Kritinin, who has not forgotten about the training of local staffs of workers.

"From the very beginning we counted on creating a businesslike situation, having established a high labor discipline such as we have become accustomed to," he shared his plans with me. "Will it be hard? Yes! But we want not only to teach the simple Nigerian kids how to work but also to imbue them with a lofty sense of civic duty."

And what does this plant mean for Nigerians on a purely personal plane? This question was answered as follows by the deputy general director of the Steel Company, I. I. Atta:

"For us is the peak of cooperation between the USSR and Nigeria, a co-operation which is developing, from our point of view, completely satisfactorily. We need our own steel. However, specialists from all over the world told us: it is impossible for you to create your own metallurgy. Only the Soviet Union said: you need it--we'll build it. And it is building it, utilizing the most up-to-date technology. But the main thing is your people, with whom we have splendid relations. Russians and Africans are living side by side, like brothers. The Soviet builders are laboring at a pace outstripping all the schedules and plans. Convey our thanks to the Soviet Union."

Naturally, the construction of this plant is not a matter of charity. It is being conducted on precise financial calculations, and all outlays, both material and labor, are being compensated in accordance with the inter-governmental agreement. However, we must add to this something which cannot be provided by any contracts: the unlimited feeling of responsibility for the task entrusted to them, the enthusiasm, magnanimity, and constant readiness to raise on high the banner of their own Motherland--all this makes Soviet people genuine internationalists.

2384

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INTERNATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL MOSCOW BOOK FAIR OPENS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 83 p 6

[Interview with Chairman of USSR Goskomizdat B. N. Pastukhov by D. Gorbuntsov:
"Book Holidays: Our Interviews"]

[Excerpts] From 6 through 12 September the latest International Book Fair and Exhibition will be held in Moscow at the VDNKh SSSR [Exhibition of the Achievements of the USSR National Economy]. On the eve of its opening, a PRAVDA correspondent had a discussion with the chairman of the organizational committee of the fair, Chairman of USSR Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade] B. N. Pastukhov.

[Question] The present Moscow International Book Fair and Exhibition is the fourth so far. That is, today it is already possible to speak of its firm traditions in the development of international book exchange. In what do they consist?

[Answer] It should be noted that the forthcoming book forum, as always, will be one of the largest and most representative ones among fairs of its kind. This is truly an international book holiday. The Moscow Book Fair '83 that is being conducted under the noble slogan "Books in the Service of Peace and Progress" poses as its goal the promotion of the complete development of cultural cooperation among peoples, and the popularizing of the best publications that promote the reinforcement of the peace.

Each such exhibition is also, as it were, a report by the book publishers and book distributors to the broad and demanding public, as well as a survey of the achievements during the past two years in the book world of the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries, and other countries. And it is also a kind of business club -- a place for meetings, for the discussion of ideas and the vitally important problems that are facing the literary, scientific, publishing, and book-trade public. Finally, it is also, properly speaking, a fair where mutually advantageous business contracts are concluded.

The foreign participants of the fair who constantly come to Moscow have for a long time placed a high value on the rich opportunities offered by our book market. For example, at the last fair, two years ago, Soviet organizations

alone, with the intermediacy of the All-Union Copyright Agency, concluded more than 2000 export-import contracts and agreements with foreign partners for the translation and publication of works by Soviet authors abroad and of foreign authors in the USSR. And the overall volume of transactions by the International Book Foreign-Trade Association for the purchase of finished printing runs of publications with foreign book-trade companies came to more than 90 million rubles. We hope that the commercial results of the present fair will be as good.

According to UNESCO statistics, our country is the world's largest publisher of translated literature. Every year the Soviet Union publishes translations into Russian and the languages of the peoples of the USSR the works of more than 2000 foreign authors, with a total printing run of as many as 150 million copies. Simultaneously with the increase in the volume of purchases of foreign literature in the USSR there has been a noticeable expansion of the network of the stores that distribute it in the language of the original. The House of Books offers the readers approximately 5000 titles of various kinds of literature published in the capitalist and developing countries.

There has been a constant increase in the foreign reader's demands also for books published by Soviet publishing house in foreign languages. As a result of the increase in the number of orders from foreign companies for such publications during the past ten years alone the production of books for the foreign reader in our country quadrupled. Soviet books are published today in 70 foreign languages and are distributed in more than 140 countries throughout the world.

[Question] How are the traditions established by the first Moscow international book forums being continued at the present fair?

[Answer] It will become even more extensive -- its participants will include more than 2300 companies and organizations from more than 90 countries in the world, as well as 15 international organizations. The countries that will be participating in the Moscow Fair for the first time include Burundi, Upper Volta, Grenada, Zimbabwe, Indonesia, Ireland, Cameroon, Chinese People's Republic, Kuwait, Lesoto, Mauritius, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelle Islands, Sudan, Uganda, as well as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the International Library for Young People, and the World Bank.

The publishing houses that will take the broadest participation in the fair are the ones from the socialist countries, whose exhibits will deal with the social-economic and spiritual life of their nations, and their achievements in the field of culture, science, and art. They will display various articles intended for demonstration, sale, and the concession of rights -- books dealing with various topics, musical scores, geographical maps and atlases, post cards, reproductions, stamps, slides, and other printed materials, as well as phonograph records.

From fair to fair, the number of book publishers and distributors from the developing countries has been increasing. For example, this year there will be a much larger number of companies among the fair exhibitors from Colombia, Thailand, and Morocco.

The capitalist countries are represented by such well-known and large-scale book-publishing and book-trading organizations and companies as the the National Institute of Spanish Books, the American publishing houses of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Academic Press, and others, numerous publishing houses from Great Britain -- Pergamon Press, Guinness Books, etc., the Italian Giunti company, the French Flammarion, the Dutch publishing houses of Elsevier and Cluiver, the Danish Guldendal company, and the Japanese Association of Publishers for Cultural Exchange. Of all the traditional West German participants in the Moscow Fairs, the one that will act this time also as the organizer of the exhibits of the publishing houses and book-trade companies of West Germany is the Association for Exhibitions and Fairs, of the Stock Exchange Union of German Book Trade.

In conformity with the spirit of the Helsinki Accord, the doors of our fair are open to all book publishers and book distributors who offer the genuine cultural, artistic, and scientific values of the peoples of the world.

Like the three previous fairs, today's fair is being organized and conducted by the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, jointly with the All-Union Copyright Agency and the International Book Foreign-Trade Association, with the active participation of other departments, public organizations, and creative unions.

[Question] I would also like to hear a few more details about the Soviet exhibit as a whole.

[Answer] It will be the largest one. And it is not only because the host country enjoys a special privilege. It is also because the USSR is one of the largest book-publishing and book-reading powers in the world. More than 200 publishing houses in our country annually produce more than 80,000 different titles of books and pamphlets with a total printing run of approximately two billion copies. The items selected for the Soviet section of the fair include 20,000 books, albums, and other exhibits, including 8000 books produced by publishing houses in the individual republics. More than 250 organizations and publishing houses will be represented in the Soviet exhibit.

At fair '83, as at the previous ones, each of the 15 union republics in our country will open up its exhibit, reflecting the flourishing of the national cultures and the wealth of the spiritual life of the Soviet peoples.

5075

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NATIONAL

ROLE OF MULTINATIONAL LITERARY PUBLICATIONS IN DISCIPLINE CAMPAIGN

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in Russian 14 Jun 83 pp 2-3

[Article by Sergey Baruzdin, chief editor of the journal DRUZHBА NARODOV and secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Writers: "Checking with Time"]

[Excerpts] Soviet multinational literature is a multifaceted, complex phenomenon which is perhaps unique in world culture. Now uniting 78 national literatures of unique features, it is a single literature in what really matters--in the ideological trend, national character, and true service to the party--as the spokesman for the thoughts and aspirations of the Soviet person. And it is no coincidence that the Communist Party constantly devotes so much attention to the development of our literature. In the decisions of party congresses and in special documents (let us remember the most important Central Committee resolutions of recent years such as "On literary and artistic criticism," "On work with creative youth," and "On the creative ties of literary and artistic journals with the practice of communist construction"), not only is the important role of Soviet multinational literature in shaping the spiritual requirements of a Soviet person and his ideological-political and moral makeup emphasized, but its objectives in each new stage of our society's development also are given concrete expression.

Nevertheless, I daresay, the last June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is particularly important for us, the writers, for the work of all our writers organizations, publishing houses, newspapers and magazines. In discussing the pressing problems of the party's ideological and mass political work, the Plenum closely linked them with the objectives of improving developed socialism, and with all the problems of the country's economic, political, social and cultural life, and finally, with the putting into practice of the basic orientation in the CPSU's activity--concern for the Soviet person and his all-round harmonious development and creation of peaceful conditions for carrying out his main historic mission--the creation of communism.

In the speech by Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as in the report by K. U. Chernenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and in the Plenum resolution, the thought was expressed especially clearly that life itself now is putting in the forefront the need to raise our ideological, educational and propaganda

work to the level of the lofty aims of consolidating and improving Soviet society in the period of developed socialism. And this means that all mass political work directed at educating the new man, which is the principal concern of our literature, should strengthen even more the unity of the party and the people and improve the communist conviction and political activity of Soviet persons and their creative energy.

A detailed discussion on improvement in the ideological fighting efficiency of modern literature and on the search for constructive measures to improve the entire field of creative and organizational-creative interrelationships took place recently in an expanded meeting of the secretariat of the board of the USSR Union of Writers.

"We are seeing all the time," Yu. V. Andropov said at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "how the influence of art on people's minds is reinforced as the people's cultural level is raised. The opportunities for its active intervention in public life are thereby increased as well. And so the artists' responsibility for ensuring that the powerful weapon in their hands serves the cause of the people, the cause of communism, also is increased immensely."

All the program positions of Yu. V. Andropov's speech have a direct, immediate relationship to writers' work. There is the need to put ideological work in the forefront, efficient utilization of the richest arsenal of the means of enlightenment and education, the problem of increasing the responsibility of personnel in ideological work, provision of a new level of development in the social--primarily economic--sciences, and the need to assess the features of the political situation which is being experienced, marked by the unprecedented tension in the antagonism of the two opposing systems--socialism and imperialism. The thoughts expressed by Yu. V. Andropov in connection with the preparation of new wording for the Party Program are especially significant.

DRUZHBA NARODOV is one of the many literary-artistic and sociopolitical literary monthlies, as it is customary to say, of the Union of Writers. Of course, it strives to resolve all those problems which face any writers publication; nevertheless, its role in the modern literary process has its own distinctive features. In accordance with the intention of its founder A. M. Gor'kiy, it is precisely our journal which should continuously and purposefully assume the role of the propagandist and organizer of the multinational literary process of the Soviet country. Its role in light of the Leninist national policy of the party, which attaches paramount importance to education of the person in the spirit of socialist internationalism and profound awareness of the community of interests of the peoples of the USSR, is crucial and important.

While in the 1930's and even the 1940's the influence of Russian literature on the literatures of other peoples in the USSR was mentioned more frequently, now we may safely speak of a reverse process--about the influence of fraternal literatures on Russian literature and even more broadly--about the mutual influence and mutual enrichment of all the literatures of our country's peoples.

From this point of view, the propaganda of the best works of multinational Soviet literature assumes a special meaning. This is, so to speak, the practical aspect of the matter. Naturally, it is important to interpret the phenomenon theoretically as well.

A special role is played by criticism in the literary process. This also was mentioned at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

"The principal method of influencing artistic creative work," the Plenum resolution notes, "should be Marxist-Leninist criticism--active, sensitive, considerate of the creative quest. At the same time, its duty is to give a clear party assessment of works in which views alien to our society and our ideology are expressed and in which deviations from historical truth are permitted. Criticism cannot treat artistically poor and dull works indulgently, either."

Unfortunately, we must recognize that feeble, insipid critical statements and not enough articles and reviews about dullness and hackwork in literature also have been appearing on the pages of our journal. We, the staff members of the journal, are drawing the correct conclusions from the Plenum materials, and this, I hope, will make it possible for us to raise the level of published work in DRUZHBA NARODOV significantly. I will note in passing that there is a need to display high exactingness in the publication of poetic works and in evaluation of the features of poetry as well. The abundance of poetic materials, as is well known, does not attest to a high level of poetry.

We also have other problems--for example, the quality of artistic translation. We have had quite a few useful theoretical articles on this subject, but unfortunately, we seldom interfere with the practice of modern translation.

We are not publishing materials on the military and patriotic theme systematically enough.

What should a modern hero be like? This question always has been a principal one both in literature and art as a whole.

I think that our predecessors--the writers of the 1920's and 1930's--understood this very well, and the images created by them still live. Quite a few such images also were given birth by literature on the Great Patriotic War.

And now let us recall the difficult postwar period.

"Rayonnyye budni" by V. Ovechkin, "Bitva v puti" by G. Nikolayeva, "Russkiy les" by L. Leonov, and "Daleko ot Moskvyy" by V. Azhayev--all the people, the entire country, are familiar with these works. These books have been argued about and discussed not only in libraries, but at home, in the family circle, as well. But after all, then, under the difficult postwar conditions we did not have so much paper, we did not have a notable printing industry base, and the number of books and magazines published were few, and there were more heated discussions about literature than now.

Why is the problem of our modern novel and our modern hero still critical?

The June Plenum reminded us about it.

Of course, the problem is not a simple one.

A definite search is being carried out, and to corroborate the thought mentioned I will again note especially the story by Vasili Bykov, "Znak bedy" [Mark of Misfortune]--one of the strongest and most brilliant works of prose in recent years, which contains truly amazing images of people of the Soviet structure (the image of Stepanida, in particular).

Interesting outlines in this direction, in my view, also are being continued in the forthcoming publications [publikatsii] of DRUZHBA NARODOV: in the novel "Vechnaya pesn'--kolybel'naya" [Eternal Lullaby] by Sergey Sartakov, the novel "Zheleznyy teatr" [Iron Theater] by Otar Chiladze, the novel "Almaznyy poyas" [Diamond Belt] by Primkul Kadyrov, the novel "Kak ty ko mne dobra..." [How Kind You Are to Me] by Alla Kalinina, the novel "Posle buri" [After the Storm] by Sergey Zalygin, and in the stories "Bylo i proshlo" [It Happened and It's Over] by Grigoriy Baklanov, "Press-tsentr" [Press Center] by Yulian Semenov, and "Solenyy graf" [Salty Graph] by Agasya Ayvazyan.

Essays and commentaries are naturally moved to the forefront under today's practical conditions in development of the literary process. They are topical, and cover what is most important, meaningful and worthwhile in modern life.

Here I may with a clear conscience recall such witty publications of DRUZHBA NARODOV as "Pole bez pluga" [Field Without a Plow] by Fedor Morgun, "V serdtsakh i delakh" [In Hearts and Deeds] by Vladimir Bedulya, "Proshedshiye vremena" [Times Past] by Yuriy Kaleschuk, "Pozitsiya" [Position] by Anatoliy Kozlovich, "Vremya seyat' i vremya zhat'" [A Time to Sow and a Time to Reap] by Ignat Dubrovskiy, "Prazdnik v gorode" [Holiday in the City] by Teymuraz Mamaladze, "V sele, u materi" [In the Country, At Mother's] by Anatoliy Strelyanny, and "Zapasnoy igrok" [Reserve Player] by Valeriy Vyzhutovich.

We are living under conditions of aggravated ideological struggle in the world arena. This was clearly noted in the June Plenum materials. This was again mentioned seriously in the joint statement of the conference of leaders of fraternal socialist countries held in Moscow on 28 June 1983.

The first January issue of DRUZHBA NARODOV this year was devoted to the theme "Literature in the Struggle for Peace." The names of writers from all countries and continents appear in it, as well as statements by many Soviet writers from most of our republics. This issue of the journal, as we know, met with a good response from readers.

We are glad that the dramatic statements of A. A. Gromyko, V. V. Shcherbitskiy, D. A. Kunayev and Sh. R. Rashidov have appeared on the pages of our journal recently, and that articles and essays exposing the substance of the bourgeois propaganda and the aggressive nature of the imperialism of the United States and NATO leaders, and devoted to the unseemly activity of Western radio stations broadcasting to the Soviet Union, have been published.

We now are preparing a special issue of the journal devoted to socialist collaboration and its place in the modern world.

The materials of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee enrich each one of us, the writers, with an understanding of the responsibility that lies on our shoulders today.

The more thoroughly and fully we become aware of this responsibility, the more dramatically and diversely we will be able to give expression to our time in our books.

8936

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NATIONAL

NEW BOOK HIGHLIGHTS ATHEISTIC WORK AMONG MUSLIMS OF UZBEKISTAN

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V SSSR, SERIYA 1: PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA (REFERATIVNYY ZHURNAL) in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 83 (signed to press 23 May 83) pp 189-193

[Review by V. A. Chernyayeva of book "Sistema nauchno-ateisticheskogo vospitaniya v usloviyakh razvitogo sotsializma" [System of Scientific-Atheistic Indoctrination Under Mature Socialism] by N. Kh. Saidov, Fan Press, Tashkent, 1982, 156 pages]

[Text] Comprehensive scientific-atheistic indoctrination in the Uzbek SSR at present is practiced in a situation in which Islam is becoming modernized in relation to the mature socialist society and the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. The sermons preached by the imams, for example, not infrequently declare that spaceflight, as well as the general progress of science and technology, has been "predestined by the great Allah, and the adaptation of religion to the Soviet way of life is at present reflected in the "blessings" conferred by the servitors of Islam on those conscripted into the Soviet Army, in their appeals to young people for mastering knowledge and specialized occupations and professions. It is characteristic that the believers themselves now do not accept relatively uneducated imams and mullahs and, according to the chairman of the Spiritual Administration of the Moslems of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Mufti Ziautdin-khan ibn ishan Babakhan, "...believers demand that we appoint to the posts of mosque imams precisely the young servitors of the cult who are perfectly aware of the requirements of present-day life."*

The author points out that in Uzbekistan, which is peopled by about 120 nationalities and ethnic groups, scientific-atheistic education does not just mean combatting Islamic relics. The presence of variegated nationalities within the population of Uzbekistan has resulted in activities by not only the Moslem community but also groups and communities of the Russian Orthodox Church, Catholics, Christian sectarianism, Judaism, etc. In this connection, "scientific-technical criticism of all religious trends without exception is becoming an important practical problem of ideological indoctrination work" (p 45). Close unity and interaction of scientific-atheistic and internationalist education is needed in order to overcome the reactionary concept of the supposedly inseparable bond between national and religious phenomena. On the other hand, the achievements of atheistic work in the republic are somewhat hampered by the fact that rural dwellers predominate in the republic's

*MUSUL'MANE SOV. VOSTOKA, Tashkent, No 3/4, 1972, p 18

population (about 59 percent); as known, the village, the 'aul,' the 'kishlak' [Central Asian villages], in which bonds of kinship are stronger and the influence of the older generation greater, are marked by conservatism of traditions and customs, not infrequently permeated by a religious spirit. In this context, the author criticizes "aksakalism" and the fact that 90 percent of the Uzbeks--even among the best-educated strata of the population--believe it necessary to obtain parental consent to marriage.

The religious mentality is being overcome in the course and on the basis of the accomplishment of socio-economic and cultural tasks and growing satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of people. The author lists the following means of atheistic education: the mass media (radio, television, newspapers, periodicals, press agencies), literature and art, cultural-educational institutions, the system of party training, the cinema, the national education system, socialist (new) rituals, the activities of "Znaniye" [Knowledge] Society and verbal propaganda and agitation. In the Uzbek SSR many mass public libraries are introducing the form of work represented by monthlies for the propaganda of atheistic literature. The author proposes establishing a museum of the history of religion and atheism modeled on the museum existing in the city of Andizhan which, in its 7 years of operation, has been visited by more than 300,000 persons.

The party organization and public bodies of Bukhara Oblast have organized traveling clubs of scientific atheism to serve the rural population. The idea is that such clubs are to be organized everywhere, with the republic House of Scientific Atheism acting as the sponsor.

The organization of atheistic work in neighborhoods is becoming a practice, especially in cities. Agitation-propaganda centers (groups) operating in tandem with sections (commissions) have been established in the makhallakhs [individual city-districts] for the purpose of atheistic indoctrination. They operate in close teamwork with "makhallakh," street and courtyard committees.

All forms of such work include, as an organic part of the propagation of the scientific-atheistic outlook, concern for the individuals, for their needs and wants, for keeping them informed about political, economic, cultural and consumer issues; all this sways the ground under the feet of the clergy, which often exploits inattention to the individual, his ignorance about what is happening in the surrounding world, or the inability of individuals to judge various social-political events from a class-oriented and mature standpoint.

Specific sociological studies in the Uzbek SSR have revealed that believers account for 12 to 14 percent of its population. An overwhelming majority of the population shares the scientific-materialist world outlook, but only one-fifth (18.1 percent) are consistent atheists; one-fourth (23.9 percent) belong in the typological group of "inconsistent atheists." Of the remaining respondents to the poll 18.2 percent are "waverers," while the largest group, 26.1 percent, are "indifferent." Work with these categories of the population requires a differentiated approach (that allows for particular social and personality parameters of individuals) as well as comprehensiveness in the sense of relating atheistic indoctrination to all other directions of communist education. In this context, it is a major shortcoming that many propa-

gandists of atheism lack specific information on the status of religiosity within their neighborhoods, so that some lecturers (36 percent) do not practice differentiated scientific-atheistic propaganda. In the republic as a whole, 12.5 percent of all lecturers and organizers of atheistic propaganda are not receiving operational information on specific problems while an additional 30 percent receive that information very irregularly.

Specific sociological studies also show that religious feelings and moods are most tenaciously rooted in the ceremonial and ritual aspects of life. Currently the revival and "reproduction" of religion also are markedly promoted by such traditional religious ceremonies as "nikokh" [Moslem wedding ceremony], "khatna" or "sunnat" (ritual circumcision), "zhanoza" (funeral service), "kurbon khaynt" and "uraza khaynt" (Moslem holidays), and certain others. They all require a special investigation so as to counteract them more effectively.

Commemorative and burial ceremonies to this day take place with the active participation of the clergy, even if the deceased was a known unbeliever. Some atheists take part in commemorative ceremonies, unaware that this represents moral support of the religious consciousness. Certain cemeteries and "official and unofficial mosques" serve as foci of revival of religion and its influence on the population. A prominent place in the arsenal of religious influences on the feelings of Moslems is occupied by the so-called "sacred places." They not only revive religious moods among the population but also serve as sources of income to the Moslem clergy.

Thus, "problems of overcoming the influence of Islamic customs and traditions as well as of religious foci attain a major rank in the scientific-atheistic indoctrination of the population" of the Uzbek SSR (pp 104-105). This is directly linked to the need for renewing the "ritual-tradition" aspect of existence through the gradual and deliberate--but not "directive-type voluntarist"--development and propagation of new socialist customs, traditions and holidays that would also include family traditions as a component element.

The overcoming of religiosity and the formation of purposive atheistic world outlook are promoted by elevating the educational level of the entire population, converting to universal secondary education and further improving the system of secondary, professional-technical and higher education. In view of the present-day needs, higher schools should not only train highly qualified specialists but also educate active and convinced atheists-propagandists.

Elevating the entire level of the management of scientific-atheistic indoctrination is absolutely necessary, according to the author. This is the aim of the activities of the Council for Atheistic Work under the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Uzbek CP Central Committee. Similar councils operate under all oblast, city and rayon committees of the republic party organization.

The author stresses repeatedly the invaluable significance of sociological studies of the problems of atheism and religion, which should be expanded. "The attitude of all social strata and groups of the population toward religion and atheism should be deeply investigated, as should be the nature of

religious views and moods...the effectiveness of scientific-atheistic upbringing" (pp 142-143).

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NATIONAL

BOOK ON NATIONALITY QUESTIONS IN USSR REVIEWED

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI V SSSR, SERIYA 1: PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA (REFERATIVNYY ZHURNAL) in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 83 (signed to press 23 May 83) pp 151-160

[Review by A. F. Tsyркun of book "Razvitiye natsional'nykh otnosheniy v SSSR" [Development of Nationality Relations in the USSR] ed. by Board headed by Yu. V. Bromley (Responsible Editor) et al., USSR Academy of Sciences, Scientific Council on Nationality Problems, Section on Social Sciences under the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of Ethnography imeni Miklukho-Maklay, Nauka Press, Moscow, 1982, 391 pages (Series: "Nats. otnosheniya v sovrem. epokhu" [Nationality Relations in the Modern Age])]

[Text] The book is part of the series "Natsional'nyye otnosheniya v sovremennuyu epokhu," issued by the Scientific Council on Nationality Problems, USSR Academy of Sciences. It consists of an introduction and four chapters, which include articles by eminent Soviet experts on this subject.

The first chapter, "Major Problems of the Study of Nations and Nationality Relations in the Modern Age," begins with Yu. V. Bromley's article, "The 26th CPSU Congress and Tasks of Investigating Present-Day Nationality Processes." In the author's opinion, the still substantial differences in various economic indicators among the Soviet republics are in many cases merely a reflection of the specific features of their branch economies or nature of production. At present "arises the question of adapting production, workstations and organization of labor to the regional and nationality aspects of manpower resources." Another aspect of the matter is the question of how to "transfuse" manpower resources from traditional to modern branches and subsectors of the national economy, primarily to industry, on preserving as much as possible valuable work habits and traditions developed over the centuries or in some cases millennia of a nation's production activities" (p 17). Further, a differentiated demographic policy, expressed primarily in stimulating the growth of birth rate among nations for which that rate is particularly low at present, is needed.

The author draws the attention of investigators to the fact that "despite the active internal migration processes in this country, ethnic homogeneity is growing in a number of republics (and not only in relative but also in absolute figures at that)" (p 19). The time is also ripe for a deeper analysis of the problems of national psychology. It is particularly important in this connection to develop genuine scientific methods for the recording and scientific description of such highly important phenomena as the evolution and change in the nationality features of individuals and the manner in which

these features manifest themselves in multinational work collectives. This is needed in order to further improve internationalist upbringing, and primarily so that the mechanism of social psychology--at, among other things, the sub-conscious level--could be utilized for this purpose. For example, the circumstance that national self-awareness is formed by the dichotomy "we--they," i.e. through the prism of ethnic cultural values, urgently requires (to avoid the transformation of ethnocentrism into nationalism) broad and multi-faceted propaganda of ethnographic knowledge about characteristic features of the culture of various nations, especially neighboring ones. Research into the process of the formation of national awareness in children and teenagers is needed.

The author points out that, in addition to the Soviet nation--the socialist community of nations--there exist capitalist communities of nations (e.g. the Indian nation). The Soviet nation is a new type of international historical communities precisely by virtue of its social-economic nature.

The second article is "The Growth of the Leading Role of the CPSU in Developing Nationality Relations Under Mature Socialism" (M. I. Kulichenko). The author writes that the fundamental contribution made by the [26th CPSU] congress to the theoretical substantiation and practice of the implementation of Leninist nationality policy consists in that, first, the party uncovered new strata and aspects of the nature and social role of the national and international factors as most important aspects of the functioning and development of the new historic community; secondly, it has drawn attention to the need for a thorough consideration of the processes and phenomena occurring in that plane; and thirdly, it has demonstrated their inseparable connection with the growing social nature of the equality of nations, nationalities and national and ethnic groups.

A consistent implementation of the tasks of Leninist nationality policy is promoted by the international composition and internationalist nature of the structure, policy and goals of the CPSU. Further internationalization of the composition of republic party organizations is taking place, as is the equalization of the proportion of representatives of native republic nationalities in republic party membership compared with the proportion of party members of Russian nationality, along with the growth of the proportion of representatives of the working class--that guarantee of international solidarity.

Of major importance is the numerical growth of the working class, along with the general progressive changes in the social structure of the republics. The proportion of native blue-collar labor force has been rising rapidly during the last 10-15 years in Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Moldavia, Tajikistan and Turkmenia. It has also been rising, though at a somewhat slower rate in Kazakhstan, Georgia and Kirghiziya. But it has remained nearly constant in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania, Armenia and Latvia, while in Estonia it has declined. This is attributable to the special features of economic growth in the individual republics as part of the integrated national economic complex, as well as to the historically evolved practice of complementing the labor force, internal migration, extent of the spread of processes of internationalization, and the manifestation of demographic factors. In this connection, the growth of social homogeneity proceeds not along the line of a mechanical leveling of these indicators but along that of the obliteration of class differences and major differences between town and

country as well as between mental and physical labor and the broad development and rapprochement of the nations and nationalities of the USSR.

The 26th CPSU Congress pointed to a number of particularly topical problems of the modern stage of nationality relations in this country. The first and most important problem is that of increasing the scale and multiplying the forms of cooperation among Union republics in building communism in general and colonizing new territories in the East, unifying their efforts to develop the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR and participating in major national projects.

In his article, "The 26th CPSU Congress on the Results and Prospects for the Development of Nationality Relations in the USSR," A. F. Dashdamirov pointed out that "the national pride of the Soviet man...stems from all the achievements of the Soviet society in pursuing a socialist solution of the nationality question as the emotional and moral acme of the relations of friendship and cooperation among the working people of all nationalities, of the evolved internationalist awareness of the Soviet nation" (p 70).

In his article "The 26th CPSU Congress on the Internationalist Nature of Soviet Statehood and Its National Forms," E. V. Tadevosyan stresses that "Soviet statehood was the principal instrument for implementing the Leninist nationality policy of the USSR" (p 71). The question of reflecting more adequately the internationalist nature of socialist statehood in the forms of the organization and functioning of Soviet national statehood is among comparatively new and important problems, which are particularly topical in view of the growth of the crisscrossing migrational movements of various nationalities among the republics.

The internationalist nature of Soviet socialist statehood manifests itself in many ways, such as: the steady liquidation of any form of social and national oppression; the rigorous and unwavering implementation of the principle of national self-determination in the interests of the free growth of nations and their closer rapprochement and unity; the complete equality of rights of all nationalities and the equality of rights and duties of all citizens regardless of their nationality or race; the voluntary union of all the nations into a single multinational state; the elimination of the factual inequality of nations; the assurance of a broad flowering of the economy and culture of every nation and nationality; the attentive consideration and harmonious meshing of the general interests of the entire multinational state with the specific interests of every nation and republic; the implementation of the principles of democratic centralism and socialist federalism in the organization and functioning of the Soviet multinational state, etc. Soviet multinational statehood represents an organic unity of the international with the national, with the international playing the leading role. In a certain sense this means unity of internationalist content with national form.

The basis for the further internationalization of Soviet national statehood is the development of productive forces, which increasingly transcend nationality framework, along with progressive changes in the social-class structures of the republics and the country as a whole, the growth of the political, spiritual and psychological unity of the Soviet nation, the general leveling of the levels of social, economic and cultural growth of the individual republics, the growing multinational composition of their populations, etc.

Important signs of the internationalization of Soviet national statehood are such processes as the strengthening of the inseparable unity of Union and national republic statehood, with the former playing the leading role; the growth of the role and importance of centralized management and of the federal foundations of the state as based on the principles of democratic centralism and socialist federalism; the growth of the proportion of all-Union tasks and functions as well as of general aspects of the forms and content of the organization and activities of the organs of Soviet national statehood; the rising participation and role of the organs of Soviet national statehood in the organization and activities of Union organs and in the implementation of Union-wide tasks and functions. The composition of the organs of Soviet national statehood is becoming internationalized, the use of the Russian language along with national languages in the activities of these organs is growing, and the spheres of both exclusively all-Union and Union-republic competences are becoming broader.

The chapter is concluded with the article "On the Role of the Science of History in the Internationalist Upbringing of Working People" (S. S. Khromov and V. P. Sherstobitov).

Chapter 2, "The Development and Rapprochement of the Nations and Nationalities of the USSR as Part of the New Historic Community--the Soviet People," begins with the article by M. I. Kulichenko, "The Steady Growth of the Economies of the Nations as a Foundation for Consolidating the Internationalist Unity of the New Historic Community." The author notes that the further rapprochement of nations is a major condition for building the material-technical base of communism. It makes possible gearing economic growth to all-Union interests, which is a most important factor in mobilizing all efforts and resources in behalf of the economic growth of all the nations and nationalities. This is promoted by the further expansion of the specialization of production and division of labor as well as by new possibilities for redistributing the potential and resources of the Union republics. The successes of the republics in increasing their contributions to strengthening the integrated national-economic complex point to the strengthening of common economic life and the flowering of the nations and nationalities as well as to the strengthening of the internationalist unity of the Soviet people.

A. A. Arakelyan in his article "Cooperation of the Nations of the USSR in Building the Material-Technical Base of Communism," observes that, now that the task of equalizing the levels of economic growth in the individual national republics has basically been accomplished, there arises the task of further overcoming the differences in the levels of the development of productive forces and living standards of the population. The socio-economic heterogeneity of the society manifests itself in the form of differences in per capita incomes among the individual republics and regions. These differences stem from different levels of labor productivity, demographic features and natural-climate conditions. The differences in labor productivity in the industry of different republics range from -30 to +30 percent compared with the Union-wide average, while in agriculture they are even greater. Moreover, labor productivity is lower wherever per capita income is lower and demographic features [as published]. The author proposes that accelerated rates of growth in capital-labor ratio be set for precisely these republics.

V. Ye. Malanchuk deals with the topic "The New Historic Community--the Soviet People and the Strengthening of the Friendship and Internationalist Cooperation of the Nations of the USSR."

M. N. Guboglo, in his article "The Development of the National and the International in the Soviet Way of Life," shows, on the basis of ethno-sociological studies, that, despite the marked variation in the nature of the processes of internationalization and rapprochement in various domains ranging from economics to psychology, from demographic processes to linguistic processes, and from state-legal to family-consumer processes, a general and steady rapprochement of nations and nationalities is nevertheless taking place in all the aspects and component of a unified way of life. "The formation of a single system of values in such domains as, among others, the family, work, recreation and culture leads to some unification of the way of life of the Soviet nations" (p 173). The principal and most essential features of the Soviet way of life are common to all the socialist nations, nationalities and national and ethnic groups. Under mature socialism the sum total of such similar features is gradually growing on the basis of the steady growth of the processes of the internationalization of economic, social, political, cultural and even family-consumer life.

The chapter ends with the articles by K. P. Katushov, "The Role of the Working Class in Processes of the Internationalization of the Socialist Way of Life," and R. K. Godzelidze, "Some Questions of Internationalist Intercourse Under Mature Socialism."

Chapter 3, "Aspects of the Optimization and Improvement of Nationality Relations Under Mature Socialism," begins with the article by Yu. V. Arutyunyan, "General Tendencies of Development of the Social Structure of the Soviet Nations." The author describes three interrelated processes underlying the improvements in the socio-economic structure, "namely, urbanization, industrialization and the intellectualization of society" (p 201), and illustrates them with findings of ethnosociological studies. For example, the rapprochement with respect to the last-named parameter has been as follows: while in 1939 there were 405-493 members of the productive intelligentsia for every 10,000 employed Russians, Georgians and Armenians, compared with only 45-63 for every 10,000 employed Uzbeks, Tajiks and Kirghizes, at present the corresponding figures are 1,092-1,160 for every 10,000 Russians, Latvians and Estonians and 354-376 for every 10,000 Kirghizes, Uzbeks and Turkmen. The high level of professional training [of the nationalities] inspires social optimism. Forty percent of Estonian specialists are satisfied with urban work; for Uzbek and Moldavian specialists the corresponding levels of work satisfaction are 70 and 80 percent, while for Estonian, Uzbek and Moldavian skilled workers these levels are 50, 90 and 80 percent, respectively. The new intellectual potential seeks to realize itself in, among other things, the sphere of moral national-ethnic values, which should be taken into account in internationalist upbringing.

V. I. Kozlov in his article, "Changes in the Nationality Structure of the Soviet Society in the Present Age and Problems of Demographic Policy," notes that the main demographic trends in the USSR at present are toward a gradual transition from the "Central Asian" type of reproduction to "Caucasian," from the "Caucasian" to the "East European," and from the "East European" to the

"Baltic Littoral." The population growth rate of the Turkic, Iranian and Caucasian groups is very high, while that of the Slavic, Baltic and Finnic groups is low. The birth rate of the latter groups continues to decline; it also is declining for the former groups, but extremely slowly. "In about 20 years Uzbeks will probably outnumber Ukrainians in total population as well; while Kazakhs and possibly Azerbaijanis will by that time outnumber Belorussians" (p 221). This points to "the need for a purposive conduct in our country of an active demographic policy focusing chiefly on raising the birth rate of the major population groups and entire nationalities displaying an extremely low rate of natural increase" (pp 222-223). In particular, "the family, which has to be strengthened as mentioned in the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, is based not on complete equality of sexes but on their differences, and it can be strengthened only if allowance is made not only for the physiological aspects of these differences but also for psychological ones, for the traditional division of household chores, etc." (p 224).

O. I. Shkaratan in his article, "Nationality and the Utilization of Manpower Resources," notes that the "development trends of mature socialism in the presence of the scientific and technical revolution require achieving, within a definitely foreseeable period, the mutual adaptation of peoples all across our Homeland to the present-day conditions of science-intensive and energy- and labor-saving production work. We assume that accelerating such a re-orientation of habits and traditions and complementing and enriching them on the basis of internationalist labor processes can largely be done through oriented social upbringing in childhood.

"The foregoing conflicts in no way with the idea of the economic equality of nations and nationalities, and it rather implies abandoning the idea of making their economies uniformly identical, since that would be an economic utopia, an illusion" (p 238).

The chapter ends with the articles "Socialist Competition as a Means of Promoting the International Solidarity of Working People" (V. F. Panibud'laska) and "Problems of Colonizing the Soviet Far North in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress" (V. N. Uvachan).

The last chapter, "Strengthening the Spiritual Unity of the Peoples of the USSR," begins with the article "Growing Role of Soviet Culture in Further Strengthening the Spiritual Unity of the Nations and Nationalities of the USSR" (M. I. Kulichenko), followed by the articles "International Traits of Soviet Culture" (K. Kh. Khanazarov) and "Linguistic Aspects of Strengthening the Spiritual Unity of the Soviet People" (Yu. D. Deshernev).

A. F. Dashdamirov, in his article "Certain Methodological Questions Relating to Research Into Problems of National Psychology," defines national psychology as "the structural-dynamic unity of volitional, moral-psychological and social-emotional factors, whose distinctive combination confers national coloring on stable elements of mentality. The historical-ethnic information contained in these factors becomes condensed and turns into a distinct program for viewing the world and reacting to events and phenomena of life from the standpoint of one's nationality. In a certain sense, national feelings, experiences and moods are, as it were, a continuation, a realization, an emotional expression of mental make-up, of national character, in which they

become embedded and crystallize. Underlying these processes are...real socio-economic and political interests of individuals" (p 326).

L. M. Drobizheva, in her article "Principles of Analyzing Interpersonal Nationality Relations," notes that, strictly speaking, the nationalism of particular individuals or groups can be considered only if their views correspond to a definite system of ideas, namely: not just acknowledgment of unique features of one's nationality but also belief in belonging to a chosen people with a special historical mission as opposed to other nations, excessive emphasis on the great value of one's own nation, irrationality of arguments in favor of superiority of one's nation over other nations. Nationalism also is present if the system of their attitudes reflects intolerance of other nations, unwillingness to associate with them and display of exclusivism--rejection of intermarriage with other nationalities and a corresponding mode of life. Hence, the excessively broad and arbitrary use of the term 'nationalism' in scientific and popular literature with respect to the Soviet reality is unjustified, because in the present age this most often concerns isolated manifestations of nationalist narrow-mindedness, bias and intolerant attitudes. Caution in applying such terms to individuals is an indispensable prerequisite for preserving a healthy moral-ethical atmosphere in the collectives and society" (pp 335-336).

The book ends with the articles "Nationality Relations in the USSR and Bourgeois Falsifiers" (E. A. Bagramov) and "Analysis of Nationality Relations in the USSR From the Standpoint of Recent Historiography" (M. N. Guboglo).

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NATIONAL

DISGRUNTLED SOVIET JEWS REGRET DECISION TO LEAVE USSR

[Editorial Report] Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 83 on page 3 carries a 500-word APN report titled "With the Arrival of Hindsight" by A. Ruzadze. Relying on Western media sources and letters from Soviet Jews in Israel, the article sketches a dismal picture of life in Israel for the Jewish emigre. According to the article, economic and social conditions in Israel are such that the recently arrived Soviet Jew finds himself without adequate housing, employment, and other amenities; further, he feels "spiritually isolated" from the society around him. One disgruntled emigre writes: "Once I had a homeland, gainful employment, friends... Having lived and worked my whole life among Soviet people, I now feel here only spiritual sorrow and loneliness."

MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA EXCERPTS BOOK ON MARTIN LATSIK

[Editorial Report] Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug and 1, 2 Sep 83 on page 3 carries a 3,500-word excerpt from the book, "The Main Thing is Loyalty," under the title "Comrade 'Uncle'." The book is a biography of one of Dzerzhinsky's closest comrades in the early days of the CHEKA, Martin Latsis. The excerpts recount Latsis' work in liquidating The Union for the Defense of the Motherland and Freedom and its allies in Kazan!.

CSO: 1800/12

REGIONAL

VAYNO ADDRESS AT 11TH PLENUM OF ESTONIAN CP

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 20 Jul 83 pp 1-4

[Address of member of CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia K.G. Vayno at 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia held 19 July 1983 in Tallinn: "On the Results of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Tasks of the Republic Party Organization Stemming from the Decisions of the Plenum, Positions and Conclusions Contained in the Speech of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yu.V. Andropov at the Plenum"]

[Text] On 14-15 June a regular plenum was held of the CPSU Central Committee, which discussed topical questions of ideological and mass political work of the party and adopted a pertinent decree. The CPSU Central Committee unanimously approved the principled positions and conclusions of the speech of Comrade Yu.V. Andropov at the plenum and had them serve as a basis for all of the party's activities.

The documents of the June plenum and the address of Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade K.U. Chernenko define ways of improving ideological educational work, its forms and methods and of increasing the vigor of our propaganda and strengthening its ties with life.

The 8th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, held in the wake of the plenum of the Central Committee, discussed the international situation of the Soviet Union and adopted the Law on Labor Collectives. Communists and workers of all countries received with deep satisfaction the election of Comrade Yu.V. Andropov to the post of Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The people justifiably associate with the work of Yuriy Vladimirovich the carrying out of a systematic policy for improvement of the international situation, strengthening of the economic and defense might of the Motherland and improvement of organization and order in all spheres of our life.

The plenum and the session of the Supreme Soviet took place in an atmosphere of unity and solidarity of the party and the people around the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo and once again pointed out the necessity of firmly adhering to the decisions of the November (1982) Plenum of the Central Committee, which with all precision defined a principled approach to improvement of the

style of all our work. The June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has become a landmark in the life of the party and the country. Its materials constitute a major contribution to the elaboration of cardinal problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and communist education of people at the present stage.

Now we are faced with hard, systematic work aimed at mobilizing the spiritual energy of the people and boosting the labor and social activity of all workers as well as concentrating energies on the solution of key tasks facing us.

The rate of our forward movement and the accomplishment of the tasks of the five-year plan will depend in decisive measure on whether we are able to accomplish this.

The fulfillment of plans of economic and social development of the republic is the object of constant consideration and special concern of the republic party organization. Party committees are concentrating the efforts of labor collectives on the general line of raising the efficiency of public production.

Today, when we, figuratively speaking, have crossed the equator of the five-year plan and its critical year, we need to sum up results of the work done to reveal weak places and to make appropriate corrections in our operations.

Let us take industry. The plan for sale of production of the first half of the year was fulfilled 102.3 percent. Products in the amount of 54.5 million rubles were sold above plan. This is more than was provided by socialist pledges for the entire year. Compared to the same period of last year, the volume of industrial production increased 4.9 percent. This is good growth, better than in recent years. Furthermore, it has entirely come from raising of labor productivity with even a certain reduction of the number of industrial production personnel. On the whole, our industry is proceeding according to the rhythm of the five-year plan.

Positive shifts exist in capital construction and in transport. New production capacities have gone into operation; five-year plans are being fulfilled for the construction of housing, kindergartens and nurseries and general educational schools.

Rural workers recently have not been working badly. Livestock wintering was carried out successfully, productivity of the dairy herd has increased and so have indicators of fattening of cattle and pigs. On 22 June, the republic fulfilled ahead of schedule the semiannual plan for sale of animal-husbandry products to the state. Compared to the first half of last year, cattle purchases increased 33 percent, those of milk 24 percent and of eggs 5 percent.

All these achievements are undoubtedly the result of the dedicated labor of workers and kolkhoz farmers, specialists and scientists. They testify to the rising level of organizational and political work of party organizations. At this time, it is important to lend a stable character to the tendency for improving basic economic indicators. And first and foremost to install order in what we have, to assure the most intelligent possible utilization of

the production and scientific-technical potential and to ensure uninterrupted work of the entire economic mechanism. This, as was pointed out by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, is both a need of the present day and a program task for the future.

The CPSU Central Committee directs us to a critical approach to our work. We have to see besides successes and achievements defects, lapses and unfinished work. Candidly speaking, we have a lot of them in all areas of the national economy, and they retard the tempo of our further forward movement.

Many of our industrial enterprises, particularly construction organizations, still work irregularly. As of old, they move back the turning over of facilities to the end of the year. All this results in crash work and, in the final analysis, to lower quality of work and to disruption of deliveries according to contractual commitments.

True, the work of contracting construction organizations recently has become more stable, but the general situation in capital construction nonetheless is improving but slowly. This is to be explained by relaxing attention with respect to construction on the side of a number of ministries and departments. Thus, in the first half of the year, the limits of capital investment have already been utilized, let us say, within the system of ministries of the food industry and procurement, respectively, by 58 and 77 percent, which creates a threat to the startup of fixed capital on schedule.

Vol'ta Plant is constantly not fulfilling its schedule of deliveries of electric motors. The Central Committee receives tens of telegrams from enterprises and organizations from all parts of the country. They have not been receiving products as provided by contracts and ask us to exert an influence on the plant which cannot keep its word. Had the management of Vol'ta Plant earlier explained delivery failures because of unreality of plans, lack of railroad cars and poor material supply, today all these objective reasons would have been removed from the agenda. The plant on the whole fulfilled the half-year plan for production sales, but because of the nonfulfillment of the products list plan, customers still failed to obtain all the ordered electric motors.

The practice of most enterprises and many ministries and departments shows that punctual solution of problems of planning and purposeful work of party committees on strengthening of labor and production discipline makes it possible to overcome many difficulties and to reduce the time of introduction and assimilation of new capacities. Personnel of the republic Gosplan, ministries, gorkoms and raykoms of the party should more deeply disclose the reasons for production disruptions and provide concrete, real help there where it is actually needed. So far we have lacked the ability to find the concrete resources for overcoming lags at these or those sectors. This reproach may practically be applied in full measure to the individual sectorial departments of our Central Committee. In the republic, actually the very same enterprises for years have lagged and failed to fulfill state plans. In regard to them, various departments adopted tens of decisions, but things, as they say, are the same today. Such a situation does not do us honor.

As we know, the question of consumer goods continues to be an acute problem. We examined it at the last plenum of the Central Committee. And it should be pointed out that certain changes for the better are already to be found. In the first half of the year, consumer goods were produced above plan in an amount of almost 68 million rubles, their production compared to the same period of last year increased 7.9 percent. Nevertheless we cannot be satisfied with the quantity and even more so with the quality of many of the produced goods. The assortment of produced items is being expanded slowly; as before, consumer demand for a number of goods is not being satisfied.

The CPSU Central Committee considers production of consumer goods to be of first priority importance, directly related to improving the well-being of the people. It puts it before us acutely and essentially. All of us, both economic managers and party workers, must adjust ourselves to painstaking and constant work in this sphere.

In the area of agriculture, the task of most importance to us is production according to basic production indicators at the level of the food program. Here the efforts of the republic party organization and all farms and enterprises of the agroindustrial complex must be concentrated. At the present time, we have a reliable reserve to make 1983 a watershed year and to significantly improve the indicators of intensiveness of production of meat and milk. Material-technical support of fodder production has become stronger and the crop-rotation structure has improved, that is, the entire fodder complex is acquiring a solid base. This means that all the prerequisites now exist for increasing volumes of production. We must orient ourselves to the fact that next year we shall have to sell to the state 5-6 percent more meat and 6-8 percent more milk compared to this year's plan targets. For this even now careful preparations must be made at each farm, especially when it comes to determining the necessary head of livestock for this.

Today at the height of the green harvest, for all practical purposes the fate of winter milk and meat, the reserve for the next year, 1984, is being decided. As of today, we have practically completed the first mowing of grasses. The annual plan of procurement of hay and haylage has been overfulfilled. Forty percent of silage and about 60 percent of the planned amount of grass flour have been put away. This is good. But now it is necessary without any reduction in tempo to fully utilize second and third mowings of grasses, the task being set at each farm to have 15-20 percent more of coarse and succulent fodder for the winter than provided by plan.

The grain harvesting period has started. Our harvest outlook is good. The problem is to take in all the grain in the shortest possible time without losses.

K. Vayno subsequently dwelt on basic questions of the educational and organizational work of party organizations.

One of the fundamental conclusions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was; the thesis to the effect that educational work is a matter for the whole party. Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov especially emphasized:

"Party committees of all levels and every party organization should understand that despite the great importance of other questions which they have to deal with (economic, organizational and other) ideological work is increasingly assuming the foreground."

We must reorganize. Analysis of the work of party gorkoms and raykoms shows that in many places production and educational tasks are considered and resolved often on their own without relation to each other. Here is just one quite characteristic example. This spring the Valgaskiy Party Raykom examined at the bureau the tasks of party organizations in carrying out spring field work. The question is extremely pertinent for the rural rayon. And so what? The decree had a place for sowing times and for spurring on farms, services and organizations. Only the individual who had to go out into the field was left unconsidered, and not a word was mentioned in the decree on work with people. Such examples could be cited as well from the work practice of other party committees. And this is evidence of the fact that so far we have been talking more of the need of unity of organizational, operational and educational activity than striving for it in practice. This incidentally can be seen from addresses made in the course of reports and elections at primary party organizations. They frequently do not contain an analysis of the ideological and moral situation among collectives and the effectiveness of different ways and forms of ideological impact on people. As a rule, these questions are not duly reflected in comments of communists. The reason is that a certain underestimation exists of this work. Among labor collectives, attempts are frequently made to solve production questions without the necessary ideological backup.

Recently, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia strictly singled out the Narva Party Organization for its inadequate attention to the moral and psychological climate among the city's labor collectives. Incidentally, Narva is not the only one that has this problem. Frequently we work with people in general and as a rule deal with pacemakers and the aktiv, and we frequently do not find our way to each rank-and-file worker. In an address at the plenum, Comrade K.U. Chernenko recalled the instructions of V.I. Lenin to the effect that the most important duty of the party is "to soberly keep track of the actual state of the consciousness and preparedness particularly of this class (and not just of its leading people)." This requirement must systematically be put into practice. All tasks facing the collective need to be examined through the prism of the individual, the worker, the chief operating persons of the labor process. And this requires a reorganization of the psychology of operational supervisors, party, trade-union and komsomol personnel. Today it would be impossible to think otherwise.

We must keep in mind that the views and attitudes of people are formed not only under the influence of our achievements. Difficulties and defects directly affect them. Defects exist among us of an objective character. And we speak candidly and openly of them. But it is quite bad when we ourselves give rise to difficulties through thoughtless acts without taking into account their ideological consequences.

Here is a striking example. During this spring and summer, milk has been produced sufficiently adequately to provide an uninterrupted supply to the population. Then how do you explain that many stores in Tallinn have interruptions in the sale of milk, sour cream, cottage cheese and kefir? In essence, all this can be explained quite simply. The ministries of meat and dairy industry, trade and motor transport and even the city authorities failed to prepare themselves for the receipt of a "large amount of milk" and were unable to organize its timely processing and delivery to the trade net. And now all these agencies instead of taking measures together occupy themselves more with explanations of the developed difficulties. It is clear that such actions significantly diminish the educational effect of many lectures and talks on improving the supply to the population.

Today in the light of the decisions of the plenum, the question may be put as follows: if you do not think of the ideological consequences of your work and adopted decisions, it means you are a bad manager. Concrete educational work in turn should be based on a consideration of changes in operational activity, keep up with them and proceed from them. Let us examine on this plane, the new structure of agricultural management which we, among the first in the country, are creating here. Our oldest rayon agroindustrial association--the Vil'yandiskiy--is now 8 years old, Pyarnuskiy--5 and the rest--almost 2 years old. But has the party organizational and educational work of rayon party organizations changed significantly under the conditions of the rayon agroindustrial association? So far positive changes among us are to be basically found only in Vil'yandiskiy and Pyarnuskiy rayons. And this received high marks at the June plenum of the Central Committee. Here the approach was to the creation of an agroindustrial association primarily as a problem of establishment of new, closer relations among people working in different labor collectives and not connected by the same aim, the same interest and the same responsibility for the end results of common work. An intermediary link between labor collectives and the rayon here became so-called regions--production zones, which include 3-4 farms located around a historically created center--a village or small town.

The village of Nuya became one such regional center in Vil'yandiskiy Rayon. The farms and enterprises included in this region have united their energies and resources and are actively developing a social and cultural base for the village. An annex to the school has been erected with classrooms, gymnasium and swimming pool. A pharmacy and outpatient clinic are being built. The region's soviet and its sections are conducting educational work: they are organizing a zonal socialist competition for the basic agricultural occupations regardless of the belonging of workers to different labor collectives; they coordinate political and economic studies and lecture propaganda and hold political seminars and conferences for all of the region's workers. Social-cultural and political educational work has also been organized in a number of other regions of the Vil'yandiskiy and Pyarnuskiy Rayon Agroindustrial Associations. This makes it possible to better include in an educational influence many thousands of rural workers engaged in different organizations, sectors, brigades and groups.

Such experience is to be valued first of all because of bringing ideological work closer to life, strengthening of the feeling of collectivism and awakening of local initiative, which contribute to the retention of cadres in rural localities and in the final analysis to significant improvement of farm production activity.

Could this experience be applied in other places, for example, in Ryapina or Kadrina, Orissaar or Likhula, Tyrva or Antsla? It apparently would be quite possible. But even those rayons, whose objective conditions make it fully possible to make use of the experiences of our first rayon agroindustrial associations, for example, Rakvereskiy, Khar'yuskiy and others, lag in doing so.

At certain party raykoms, they feel that the experience of Pyarnu and Vil'yandi in general is not suitable for them. At the same time, they are not searching for, are not experimenting and are not proposing their own versions for the improvement of organizational and ideological work under the new conditions. This work of late has gotten off to a start, but it is still proceeding slowly and very hesitantly.

I think that the Central Committee's departments should make a point in the immediate future of making a thorough study of the specifics of organizational and educational work under the conditions of the rayon agroindustrial association and of submitting their proposals.

At the June plenum it was especially emphasized that the party considers as a most important task inculcation in each individual of the feeling of realization of the necessity of conscientious work for the common good. It, this feeling, is formed primarily in the actual process of collective labor in the course of which a person develops his best capabilities, creative powers and establishes himself as an active builder of communism. For this reason, all efforts on the organization of ideological educational work have to be concentrated in the labor collective. We have many collectives with good experience in educational work. Mention should be made of the existence among them of the collectives of the plants Il'marine and imeni Kh. Pegel'man, the section Viyvikond, Tartustroy Trust, the kolkhozes Vambola, 9 Maya and a number of others. But on the whole, the republic's economy still suffers great losses because of violations of labor discipline, absence of the necessary order, which speaks of only partial use of the educational power of labor collectives.

As we know, recently the new Law on Labor Collectives was adopted. It is bound to be of big help to boosting the educational influence of the labor collective on people. Broader possibilities have appeared for influencing the work of each worker and of displaying in more concrete forms of comradesly demands on each other and intolerance of any kinds of violations.

You know that the adoption of the Law was preceded by its broad discussion among labor collectives. Millions of people took part in it. In our republic alone, more than 670,000 persons took part. Many proposals and critical comments were enunciated. The actual discussion aroused the people and increased their attention in regard to the affairs of the collective. We should ably utilize this activity, this initiative and not permit it to become extinguished.

Unfortunately, following the adoption of the law, the Trade Union Council and the republic trade union committees did not think as they should have of how the provisions of the new law should be applied locally, of how, using the new law which goes into operation on 1 August of this year, to make workers more active in taking part in management of production and strengthening of discipline and how to really, in actuality, utilize in everyday life the resources of socialist democracy.

Workers need to be drawn more into the various social formations--permanently operating production conferences, into commissions of party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations and into units of the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers, scientific-technical societies and many others. We must see to it that all these commissions and groups do not simply exist on paper but operate actively so that their participation and their influence in the collective are constantly felt. At the present time, many of our enterprises have too broad "passive" strata. They include workers and employees who work well but stay away from social life; they do not display initiative and at times calmly, if not indifferently, skirt defects.

A big role in this regard can be and should be played by socialist competition. But in its organization, too much formalism exists among us. The scope of competition is apparently quite broad, many people participate in it, but we do not encounter too frequently examples of real labor rivalry or real effectiveness. And it is not a matter of figures. The Trade Union Council and republic trade-union committees and ministries and departments should not spare their energies and time in organizing a really effective competition primarily aimed at better utilization of production capacities, economy of resources and boosting of production quality.

It should be said plainly that our propaganda and mass information media have so far been weak in disclosing the real meaning of socialist competition, they poorly propagandize the achievements of pacemakers and inadequately disseminate labor initiatives.

Take, for example, the most recent initiative of the labor collectives of Plant imeni M.I. Kalinin, Krengol'mskaya Manufaktura Combine, Estonia Mines, Tudulinna Sovkhoz and kolkhozes Kuldre and Lembitu on strengthening of patronage ties for procurement of fodder approved by the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia. How did the initiative develop, how did those behind the initiative fulfill their commitments? How was the initiative supported in other collectives? The press has made no mention of this. And that is a pity. Searching out, singling out, generalizing and widely disseminating the advanced methods of socialist competition, helping the "middle of the line" worker become a pacemaker and the lagger to become a "middle of the line" worker constitute one of the principal directions of our work with people.

We know that strengthening of discipline, higher labor productivity and the creation of strong, stable collectives are greatly helped by wide-scale dissemination of the brigade form of labor. Today I would like to point out that in this regard we have succeeded in achieving certain results. At the present time, about 55 percent of workers in the republic are included in brigades. We have more than 18,000 brigades in operation. Almost 3,300 of

them operate with the use of the coefficient of labor participation. The number of brigades working on the basis of a single contract has grown. In industry, for example, in the past 3 years, their number has grown from 39 to 59 percent. But still the prevalence of brigades working on the basis of a single contract and distributing earnings with the use of the coefficient of labor participation is still slow in spreading. But in the very nature of such brigades there is to be found a tremendous training potential. Experience shows that in practice they have no absenteeism or latenesses. It is namely here, in joint work, in everyday affairs, the feeling of owner of production, of participation in common work and of real interest in end results and of the need of inculcation of which we have spoken so much is formed.

We need to learn to utilize more fully the educational possibilities of the brigade. Practice shows that one of the most widespread errors in the introduction of new forms of labor organization is weak involvement of workers in management. Brigade councils now possess broad rights, and many of them make able use of these rights in the interests of production, training of people and strengthening of discipline. But here and there councils of brigade leaders and brigade councils are restricted with a narrow range of duties or do not have any created for them. As a result, the main element in this movement is distorted, that is, its collectivism and democratic spirit. Workers as a matter of fact do not participate either in planning, or in allocation, or in the solution of cadre problems. The initiative of members of the collective is held back and its educational influence is reduced so that the brigade form of labor organization in such cases does not yield its due return. The result is that when it comes to "scope," everything is seemingly all right, but when end results are concerned--things are not so hot.

What we need are not figures of "scope" nor simply the creation of brigades as such. We need a broad and--what is most important--intelligent and able utilization of the advantages of this new form of labor organization for training of people and improvement of their work.

In recent years, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia and party gorkoms and raykoms have devoted a great deal of attention to questions of ideological work. We have had to do a great deal of work to debunk the idea formerly prevalent among us that the actual Soviet conditions of life, so to say, automatically form the consciousness of people along the proper lines and that this does not require any particularly special efforts. Such a conception doomed our party cadres to passivity, inactivity, deprived them of militancy and aggressiveness and gave rise to self-complacency in ideological work.

It should be said that the Central Committee, gorkoms and raykoms were able to opportunely assess the situation, to look critically at their own work in this direction and to change over. A turning point in this matter was the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, which was held in 1979. It deeply analyzed the state of ideological work in the republic and outlined specific measures for improving things in this important sector. It is namely here that pointed questions were raised on the necessity of increasing militancy and aggressiveness in all this work and a party,

principled and uncompromising attitude to any manifestations of nationalism, political immaturity and shortsightedness.

The decisions of the plenum served as the basis for the everyday activity of the Central Committee and ideological ministries and departments. It is proper to raise this question: what have we succeeded in doing in the time that has elapsed since then? Planning of ideological work at all levels has improved; it has become more concrete. The republic party organization now has more clear-cut directions in work on international and patriotic education; it is directed at more specific actions in the philosophical, labor and moral education of young people and in the organization of the population's leisure.

A search is going on for new forms of propaganda. As you know, we have rejected permanently operating agitation centers. This form of work is not popular today. But on the other hand republicwide political days fully justify themselves. They have become an effective way of study and formation of public opinion and of achieving ties with the masses. "Open-letter" days held by republic and rayon newspapers have well proved themselves. "Forum" and "Micro-forum" have been further developed on television and radio broadcasts.

In a word, a lot has been done. But at the same time, we feel a deep dissatisfaction: more should have been done. Significantly bigger efforts should have been applied, and the return from expended energies in many directions of educational work could have been higher. This applies first and foremost to the tremendous complex of moral aspects of education: this means inculcation of civic spirit, friendship of peoples, attitude toward labor and socialist property, toward family and upbringing of children. The reasons for our unfinished work to a significant extent are to be found in formalism, sometimes in routine and stereotype patterns, prevalent as before in many forms and methods of educational work. The only true criterion of its effectiveness is not the number of measures but the state of affairs in labor collectives and the exemplary performance by each person of his civic duty. Unfortunately, we have many instances where lectures are regularly presented at a collective, political and information studies are conducted, but the necessary order or good results in work are not to be found.

Can the return, for example, from many ideological measures at collectives of the republic's railroad transport be great when the number of losses of worktime, absences and idling does not decrease? And this is a most important sector of the national economy on which the operation of other sectors depends.

Formalism in the organization of educational work in the collective, inaction and lack of principle on the part of the party organization results in extremely sad consequences. This is what happened, for example, in the case of Dezintegrator, whose work was noisily and improperly advertised throughout the entire Union. At the same time, financial discipline was disrupted, funds were squandered and norms of Soviet legislation were rudely flouted before the eyes of the collective and tens of communists. Now a large group of personnel, including the former director and the secretary of the party organization are appearing before the judge. And yet the operation of Dezintegrator and the

level of educational work and the ideological measures implemented there were quite satisfactory to the management of Estkolkhozstroy and to the Morskoy Party raykom!

Our incomplete accomplishments in the field of political educational work can be explained with a multitude of reasons. But essentially they have for their basis weak organizational work, disparaged responsibility of cadres and the habit of working in the old way.

It is necessary to self-critically acknowledge that both the Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee have done far from everything with respect to the fulfillment of the decisions of the 15th plenum. We still lack depth of penetration into the nature of the ongoing processes and the ability to find the most effective ways of solving pressing problems. The republic's Council of Ministers, the Trade Union Council, and the Komsomol Central Committee could be working more concretely in this direction and, what is most important, bringing the matter to a close. To a large extent departments of the Central Committee and a whole series of ministries and departments are not doing their utmost. Party raykoms and gorkoms should have been working more purposefully.

Today, when we are provided by the November and June plenums of the CPSU Central Committee with new guidelines, all of us must more critically evaluate our work and its effectiveness, derive lessons from our lapses and incomplete accomplishments and carry on work in the spirit of the requirements of the time.

While conducting all our ideological, educational and propagandistic work in accordance with the large-scale tasks being solved by the party, we must not forget for a minute such an important factor as the sharp exacerbation of ideological struggle in the world arena. It recently acquired the character of real psychological warfare. We cannot but help take into consideration the rabid anti-Soviet course of American imperialism.

The republic party organization has been in large measure enriched by the All-Union Conference "Exacerbation of Ideological Struggle in the World Arena and the Political Education of Workers." Much has already been done with respect to the fulfillment of its recommendations. The forms and methods of counterpropaganda work are now being systematically discussed at the Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia. Sections have been formed at many party gorkoms and raykoms for counterpropaganda work. The study of questions of ideological work has been significantly expanded within the system of party education as well as at people's universities and at universities of Marxism-Leninism. Lecturers and political information officers have acquired specialization in regard to this subject matter. But our counterpropaganda work needs to be further improved. There is a need for more clear-cut coordination of efforts on the part of all ideological resources, organizations and departments. The aktiv is at times inadequately informed in regard to certain socially significant questions.

Incidentally, in regard to the information question. I would like to emphasize that in general it is adequate in our case. But it is poorly used. Take, for example, the special counterpropaganda weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. Everyone who makes use of it values it highly. But the problem is that some cities and rayons practically do not subscribe to it. Whereas 2,500 copies of this publication are available in Tallinn and Kokhtla-Yarve has more than 500, Tartu has only 40, Pyarnu--30 and Pyalvaskiy Rayon--only 1. A similar picture is to be observed in regard to many other sources of counterpropaganda information.

With respect to political educational and ideological work, it is necessary to more deeply unmask the schemes of hostile propaganda, to intensify criticism of the aggressive anti-Soviet course of the present U.S. administration and to decisively expose the lies and slander of our country and its policy. We obtain a great deal of information from the central press through the channels of TASS. This is basic material for the organization of effective counterpropaganda activity. But we have not always ably and effectively used it to show our achievements and answers to questions troubling people. The Estonian Telegraph Agency must decisively improve the content and form of exposition of our own counterpropaganda materials and take steps to improve the system of processing TASS communications.

It should be said that Estonian television and radio so far have not fully used their resources for more effective and thorough preparation of counterpropaganda broadcasts. Our commentators sometimes get excessively involved in secondary topics to the detriment of analysis of the principal problems of our internal and external policy.

The propagandizing of the achievements of real socialism, the Soviet way of life and the basic values of our society, as was emphasized at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, should be conducted ably and creatively.

The resources of the whole ideological aktiv ought to be used by us to bring to the understanding of every individual that conscientious, dedicated labor, discipline and organization constitute today the cutting edge of the struggle of the Soviet people for peace and against the threat of thermonuclear war.

Successes in socialist construction, it is stated in the article of Yu.V. Andropov "The Teaching of Karl Marx and Certain Questions of Socialist Construction in the USSR," come only then when party policy rests on a solid scientific base.

In order to correctly organize ideological work for the masses, we need to better know the needs of the various strata of the population and to more fully take into consideration the level of their social consciousness and the special features of this period of development of society. In a word, all our ideological and political work should be scientifically based and stand on the foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory.

As we know, at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the representatives of the social sciences were subjected to serious criticism. This also completely applies to the social scientists of our republic. A decisive turn

of social scientists is required toward key practical tasks facing our society.

After the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia where the republic's Academy of Sciences was subjected to valid criticism for its inadequate supervision of the development of the social sciences, attention was somewhat increased in regard to the study of the most important and pressing problems of the social and economic development of the republic and of ideological work as a whole. A complex plan was approved for the study of questions of international education. Studies on problems of development and allocation of productive forces of the republic are being better coordinated. But this constitutes only the first attempts to turn the numerous and, on the whole, highly qualified contingent of social scientists to the burning problems of the day. So far as before the greater part of the studies is still inadmissably concentrated on the distant past to the detriment of problems of the period of socialism. We address this reproof primarily to the collectives of the Institute of History of the ESSR Academy of Sciences and the Department of History of Tartu State University as well as to the collective of the Institute of Party History whose studies devote insufficient attention to the development of problems of our society in the past decades.

In a number of cases, the needs of real life among us in general are not reflected in the researches of social scientists or are done so inadequately. This applies primarily to moral questions of communist education of workers and young people, the formation of social consciousness among different social groups, internationalization of social and economic life and study of public opinion.

On this plane, the ESSR Academy of Sciences should rearrange its work.

It is also necessary to sharply raise demands on the quality of publications on the social sciences. Among us the practice is increasingly taking root of organizing different kinds of symposiums and conferences with numerous reports bearing solid and even thematically topical titles. But, as is apparent from published materials, the content of many "scientific reports" is primitive and the conclusions generally known. In actuality, these "works" are not needed by anyone except the author. Thus, without any benefit to society, there is expended not only printing paper, not only time, but the most precious thing--the actual prestige of science is lost.

The departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia were correct in proposing to exclude from the plans of the next 2-3 years about 10 republic conferences. Let there be fewer of them, but they should be better prepared.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee devoted major attention to questions of the press. The fact is that the mass information and propaganda media are an effective instrument of education and organization of workers and of ideological support of the party's internal and external policy.

The quality of work of the republic press and of Estonian television and radio has improved in recent years. Their programs have become broader and more

diverse in subject matter, deeper in content and clearer in form. A number of the published items of republic party newspapers provided grounds for discussion of problems in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia and the Council of Ministers; specific measures were adopted in regard to them.

But the reader is not always satisfied with the content of our newspaper, journals and television and radio programs. Their chief defects are--weak informational coverage and a certain pretentiousness. Not all editorial offices and publishing houses have been able to provide a high ideological and political level to their published materials.

A special discussion took place at the June plenum concerning the rayon press. We have a number of newspapers--PYARNU KOMMUNIST, NARVSKIY RABOCHIY, the Rakvere PUNANE TYAKHT and the Vil'yandi TEE KOMMUNIZMILE, which are published at a good level. On the whole our "rayon babies" contain a lot of petty subject matter and are lacking in interest.

They write vividly about local life and in addition frequently and unnecessarily take up small newspaper space with second-rate so-called entertainment materials. The rayon newspaper's organizational role has been diminished. What, for example, have they done as organizers in regard to propagandizing new elements in the management of agriculture? As analysis shows, unfortunately very little.

The authority of the printed word, including that of the rayon newspaper, is determined to a large extent by the relation of the party committee to what it says. Unfortunately, not all party gorkoms and raykoms display the necessary attention, concern and constant interest in the materials of their press organs. Instances of them supporting either initiatives or the critical warnings of the newspapers are few.

A few words on critical statements of the press and on attitude toward criticism. Criticism--whether printed or on the television screen--is a responsible task. When criticizing, journalists must be impeccably accurate, truthful and objective. Many of the critical statements in the newspapers RAKVA KHYAEL' and SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, television broadcasts of "Sharp Viewpoint" on Estonian television and the radio series "About You and For You" and "People's Control" are interesting and instructive. Undoubtedly, the press should keenly react to defects. But such keenness does not mean sensationalism, harshness of expression or demeaning of human dignity. The press is too powerful an instrument to be used thoughtlessly.

At the same time, there have been many instances where critical materials were not completely checked out. For example, MOLODEZH' ESTONII distorted the reasons for the conflict at the Pyarnu Excursion Bureau. And NOORTE KHYAEL' published critical material on the unworthy behavior of young sportsmen, using facts that were a year old. Such inadvertence does not enhance the prestige of these newspapers.

Of late, party, soviet and operational organizations have begun to more effectively react to critical statements and to more energetically rectify defects

revealed by the press. But we sin against truth if we remain silent concerning the fact that everything is not in order with us. Editorial offices receive too many formal noncommittal replies as well as repeat letters with complaints against officials.

Not so long ago, Estonian television revealed gross defects in the work of Vtorchermet Association. Even at the time of collecting material, the journalists here ran into all sorts of obstacles. Following airing of the program, the management of the association, instead of informing the public about measures that were taken, undertook to accuse the television personnel of lack of objectivity. To the credit of the television journalists, it should be said that they succeeded in exerting an influence on the state of affairs. Party committees should more decisively interfere and correct those who attempt to "stave off" work criticism and are indifferent to statements of unresolved problems by the mass information media. At the June plenum, a most effective way was pointed out of dealing with such occurrences: the guilty parties to be made fully accountable.

Nonetheless, the principal influence on the education of the masses should be exerted by the press through dissemination of advanced experience--production, educational and life. One would wish to see more frequently on its pages a talented account of our contemporary--the leading worker, kolkhoz farmer, engineer, manager, scientist--who has achieved big successes in his work. The main efforts of the journalist community and editorial collectives should be particularly concentrated on the preparation of such materials.

Certain reserves for improvement of the content of newspapers are to be found as well in the further development of the movement of worker and rural correspondents, concerning which people of late have started to forget. The ranks of non-staff authors have thinned out at schools and associations. The Literary Debut Club has closed down at SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA. Worker correspondents of the Ykhtulekht School of VECHERNIY TALLIN have long stopped inviting persons desiring to attend its classes. And we see ever more rarely on the pages of newspapers the title of "rabkor" [worker correspondent]. Yet the non-staff ^{aktiv} constitutes the blood vessels ^{of} feed newspapers with topical information, fresh facts and new ideas.

The basic efforts of the republic party organization are directed at the formation of a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. Communists are primarily tempered ideologically by party studies in which certain positive changes have taken place in the last 2 years. Party organizations have begun to concern themselves more with the purposefulness of the content of the studies and the training of propagandists at large at a university of Marxism-Leninism and differentiated 2-week courses. Looking over the composition of the students of the political system, we find that 83 percent here consist of communists.

But we have not yet achieved a proper renewal of party studies. As before, at many primary party organizations, studies are frequently conducted formally. Even our best propagandists weakly direct students to active independent study of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. For this reason at many places the studies are conducted in a boring manner. Aside from the propagandist, no one else appears.

On the other hand, here and there externally life is seething: one is besieged with speakers, real discussions become heated, pointed criticism is to be heard. But if in this connection, global problems are primarily discussed, if the activity of everyone except oneself is sharply analyzed, this hardly helps the listener to give meaning to his personal contribution to the solution of forthcoming tasks. The study of theory is only effective when it actually works in practice. Of interest from this point of view is the experience of the party committee of Tallinn Machine Building Plant imeni I. Lauristin which sent students to a portion of the schools on the principle of unity of interests of communists' public activity. Here secretaries of shop party organizations and organizers of party groups study topical problems of party construction, their deputies--questions of CPSU ideological work and political information officers--the party's economic policy. Such a form of school enrollment has contributed to significantly activating the teaching process and increasing the effectiveness of study. This experience should be more actively disseminated to other organizations by the House of Political Education.

Political study by executives is of special important significance. There is no doubt that they would benefit from study in schools of the party-economic aktiv of gorkoms and raykoms as well as study at the university of Marxism-Leninism. Such forms should be employed on a considerably broader scale. The university administration is acting correctly in announcing enrollment of students from among executives of rayon agroindustrial associations in a special correspondence division. This is a timely and necessary thing. It might be useful to enlist in the studies at the university deputy ministers, chairmen of state committees and their deputies. At one time this fully justified itself.

The June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee pointedly set the task of expanding economic thinking. An important role in this belongs to the system of economic education which should be organized by ministries and departments under the supervision of sectorial departments of party committees. And it should be noted that the ministries of motor transport, light industry, meat and dairy and food industry, the Estonian Republic Union of Consumer Societies, Estonglavenergo and Estonslanets approach quite seriously it might be said, even creatively, questions of organization of economic education. Taking into consideration the problems of their sector, they concretize study programs, influence the study content, train propagandists and provide them with serious assistance in putting out information bulletins and other materials as well as exercise control over the effectiveness of the studies.

But this is not how the matter stands everywhere. Heads of the ministries of the woodprocessing industry, consumer services, construction, construction materials industry, procurement, Estbumprom and the Administration of the Fish Industry, though subjected to repeated criticism for their weak organization and supervision of training of sector workers, have not made the proper conclusions for themselves on improving this work even after adoption of a pertinent decree by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee. And it is no accident that among the labor collectives of these sectors training of propagandists is weak, much formalism is to be found in the classes, and they provide no significant benefit.

We must not accept the fact that frequently party committees instead of actual party supervision of economic education engage in substituting for this activity of ministries with petty tutelage of heads of enterprises. Such claims are made first of all in regard to Pyarnu Gorkom and Valgaskiy and Oktyabr'skiy Rayon party raykoms. The Republic Trade Union Council must increase its role in the improvement of economic education, first of all among workers.

Oral propaganda and agitation require significant improvement. It is namely this sector of work, possibly more than others, that has been subjected to the influence of formalism and "ideological barrage." Some people are evidently impressed by the five-figure number of lecturers, political information officers and agitators and also by the numbers of presented lectures and talks. For example, primary party organizations of Morskoy Rayon are credited with more than 4,000 political information officers and agitators, but even the initial figures of certification of this aktiv, currently conducted by the party raykom, show that this figure is highly inflated. In the republic Znaniye Society, there are more than 20,000 lecturers. But many of them have not read a single lecture in the course of a year. A check showed that just in the cities of Khokhtla-Yarve and Pyarnu and in Khaapsaluskiy and Pyarnuskiy rayons there are more than 15 percent of such lecturers and that about one-fourth of the lecturers present only one to three lectures a year.

Of course, one should not take exception to the figures in general for they are needed for the analysis of the dynamics of lecture propaganda and oral agitation. But figures should be truthful; it is pointless to give out what is desired for what is actual. Especially since no one comes out against agitators and political information officers. Quite the contrary, their work should be supported in every possible way; it should be ably guided, and this should be the job of primary party organizations and party gorkoms and raykoms. Unfortunately, the opinion so far has been quite widespread that the figure of the agitator in the age of the scientific-technical revolution has become obsolete. We believe that this is far from the case. The strength of the agitator lies in the fact that for the most part he comes from rank-and-file people. His word is the voice of a comrade at work. In appearing as agitators, workers and kolkhoz farmers display their political creativity. And life shows that there where agitators and political information officers are consistently involved, their work provides major benefit.

The experience of the best, for example, of the Plant imeni M.I. Kalinin, shows that much can be done with the resources of oral agitation if its content maximally approximates the life of enterprises, cooperation is organized among its parts and effective informing and instruction of the aktiv is established. But so far this is more of an exception than the rule.

The Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia and gorkoms and raykoms should determinedly improve oral propaganda and agitation and search for more effective methods for it. The fact is that such a successful and popular form has been found as the single political day. Having accumulated 4 years of practice in holding them, we today can confidently affirm that political days largely contribute to increased social and political activity in the republic.

A most instructive lesson should be derived from the practice of political days. If one engages determinedly, systematically and purposefully in some form of work--as we work on the organization of political days--then the attained results are good. The holding of political days one month after another has not given rise to either monotony or formalism as sometimes occurs in the case of many other initiatives. Nonetheless, it is necessary to strive even more to get a bigger return from political days. What do we have in mind here? So far, only two-thirds of supervisors included in information-propaganda groups regularly take part in political days. Of course, life is life, there are emergency summons and urgent official trips. But if a supervisor appears rarely, then it is proper to raise the question not only of the executive discipline of the said comrade but also of the style of his work.

In certain speakers the fear has not been eliminated of "strange audiences," especially young and creative of the nonproduction sphere. One should not lose sight of the fact that in one auditorium the same people have constantly appeared. We think an alternative is possible where special attention is devoted on certain political days to certain categories of workers, say, personnel of the agroindustrial complex, construction workers, teachers and the like. Of course, the selection of audiences should not be casual but dictated by the needs of practice.

In a word, in oral propaganda and agitation there are still to be found tremendous possibilities that we have not used for the improvement of mass political work.

One of the tremendous social achievements of real socialism is the increase of the population's leisure time. Rich in content organization of leisure is an important task of cultural institutions, sports organizations, the tourist and excursion services and, of course, party and soviet organs. In recent years, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia has been devoting a great deal of attention to these questions. They were discussed at the republic party aktiv, and a special decree was adopted by the Bureau of the Central Committee, as were appropriate decisions of party gorkoms and raykoms. As a result the population's leisure time has become more diverse and organized.

We are glad that in recent years mass health normalizing sports have been revived. Ski marathons, people's hikes, health improvement running, sports orientation have truly acquired a mass character. Today it is no rarity to see physical-culture measures involve tens of thousands of people on their days off. We have many real enthusiasts who on a social basis organize such measures. Their initiative should be supported locally in every possible way.

At the same time, the republic has obviously yielded its positions in sports mastery. For the first time in many years, we are not represented in the top leagues of the country in game types of sports. Serious concern is evoked by the poor showing of our sportsmen at the 8th Spartakiad of the Peoples of the USSR. Even in such traditionally popular forms of sports in Estonia as field and track athletics, basketball and fencing, our athletes have not displayed the necessary skill and fighting qualities.

The developed situation should deeply worry the republic's Trade Union Council, the Komsomol Central Committee of Estonia and sports societies. The republic's Sports Committee, as the headquarters of the sports movement, should give this special regard. Unfortunately, the top people of this committee have not been able to properly unite the collective. T/O trainers have manifestly been unable to improve things, their personal responsibility and demands on them have been depreciated. Such a situation does not promote the boosting of sports skills in the republics. And it cannot be tolerated.

A great deal is being done among us for the development of artistic amateur work. Mass choral singing and folk dances are successfully developing. About 200,000 persons belong to different clubs according to their interests and to amateur associations.

At the same time, party, soviet, trade-union and Komsomol organizations poorly control the ideo-artistic directions of the various kinds of amateur activity. In recent years, the number of entertainment measures has grown everywhere in the republic. For example, now, this summer hundreds of concerts, reviews, rallies, summer camps and fairs are being held. At these, quite frequently amateur ensembles appear, sometimes loudly calling themselves "show groups" in the Western manner. Low-grade "masterpieces" pour from the stage, and the organizations from different ministries and departments seemingly have no idea of the ideological content of such measures. At the same time, local cultural organs conduct themselves irresponsibly, although according to existing rules not a single measure relating to appearances can be carried out without their approval.

A few words should be said about the material base of cultural educational institutions. In Khar'yuskiy and Valgaskiy rayons, funds released for the repair of cultural institutions are not being consistently used. And in the republic's capital, the ispolkom of the city soviet of people's deputies thought it possible at this time, in the summer, to turn over the just opened Nymmeskiy House of Culture after 6 months of repair work for a trade fair in manufactured goods. Such a fate has also occurred in Kel'drimyaeskiy. This evidently is a manifestation of the lack of understanding of certain soviet organizations of the role of cultural educational institutions in the organization of the population's leisure.

With growth of the cultural level, the influence of art is stronger and the responsibility of the creative intelligentsia to society is increased. Initial in the creativity of the artist has been and continues to be his civic position. Only a party approach can help him attain real heights in art. Genuine talent does not barricade itself away from life, it does not allow embroidering of reality or placing artificial emphasis on shady happenings. Such is the character of the works of the outstanding representatives of the Estonian creative intelligentsia and many of the masters of the arts loved by the people.

We feel deep satisfaction from the fact that the best works of literature and art of Soviet Estonia have confidently crossed the boundaries of the republic and become the heritage of all Soviet multinational culture. We are happy with the full-blooded creative life in the republic and with the appearance of

new young talents. But today we are not dealing with our undoubted successes but with how to increase the social effectiveness of literature and art and with how to put an end to those phenomena in the sphere of creative art work which still break out of the common channel of development of Estonian Soviet culture.

The criticism of certain tendencies in the contemporary creative process enunciated at the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee sounds quite pertinent to us. We are only too well acquainted from the books, plays and scenarios of certain contemporary Estonian authors with heroes solving far-fetched problems which are quite remote from the social tasks of the day, grumblers crying over their unrequited hopes and confusion in life.

All-union literary criticism, in speaking of late about Estonian literature, has been employing a special term: "ironical-philosophical," emphasizing that the predilection for the ironical-philosophical comprehension of the world is characteristic of the style of thinking of certain Estonian literary figures and serves as their creative signature.

But it would seem that irony is good in those cases where its internal charge is constructive and aimed at the correction of actually existing defects in our life. It is bad when it is transformed into mockery of our sacred spiritual and moral values; instead of philosophical depth there appears a certain "philosophizing," a departure into the region of naked abstraction, which frequently leads to the loss of worthwhile life aims.

Our criticism can and must take a more active position on this plane. Its obligation, its duty is to provide a clear, party assessment of works in which views are enunciated that are alien to our society as well as of artistically weak, unexpressive works. Unfortunately, critical works published in our newspapers and journals are not always in accord with these clear party requirements.

A tendency increasingly appears of conducting the analysis of works only from certain esthetically subject positions accompanied by the inability to disclose and to evaluate ideological merits and the social conception of a work. The editorial offices of our newspapers and journals, especially such as SIRP YA VAZAR, LOOMING, TALLIN, KEEL' YA KIR'YANDUS, TEATR. MUZYKA. KINO, must show a great deal of concern for fighting spirit and raising of the ideological and professional level of literary and art criticism.

The June plenum underscored the responsibility of communists working in creative unions and cultural institutions for the ideological direction of artistic search, for the education of cadres and for young additions to our literary and artistic shop. The growth of interest in social-political subject matter found in the work of our composers graphically attests to certain achievements in the work of the governing board and party organization of this union. Many of our artists are also displaying initiative in the creation of works on the subject of labor and in the depiction of today's heroes, and this undoubtedly reflects the work of the party organization of the Artists Union. But it, just

as the managing board of this union, could devote more attention to the molding and creative growth of young artists and direct creative masters to an artistic comprehension of our reality as well as to help them overcome creative stagnation.

Organs administering culture should especially serve as a model of precise formulation of ideological and political work. But the work style of the republic's Ministry of Culture still does not fully meet the requirements of the present day. It manifestly lacks the requisite system and a sense of perspective in work. Apparatus officials spend a lot of time on routine business. As a result, basic deficiencies are being overcome but slowly in cultural life.

The significant changes occurring in the economy and culture are most immediately reflected in the cast of mind of the young generation. Our young people on the whole are good: educated, widely informed and energetic. The greater portion of the graduates of the schools and vocational-technical schools work well at national-economic enterprises and honorably perform their service in the ranks of the army and the navy.

Still one cannot help but see negative phenomena in the young milieu. Some young men and women, having grown up under conditions of material well-being and excessive concern of their parents, are distinguished by slow social maturation and the ability to bring their personal interests into accord with state interests. A lack of responsibility and lack of development in civic and moral, ideological and social questions cannot but help concern us in the case of certain teenagers, pupils of senior classes and even students.

We need to devote considerably more attention to the training of youth for labor. In this sense, vocational orientation of young people is of major significance. But, putting it bluntly, here we do not as yet have a definite system, consistency. The long-term cadre needs of cities and rayons are poorly taken into account.

Up to now too few graduates of secondary schools begin their labor career as machine operators and animal-husbandry workers. And where can they come from if, for example, the rural schools of Kokhtla-Yarveskiy Rayon orient young women to labor in the sphere of trade. There can be no argument that trade requires cadres, but the party raykom should think of who will come tomorrow to animal-husbandry farms and fields. The republic's Ministry of Education should also have a better thought out program of action in the field of vocational orientation. But the main thing is that we require pedagogically thought out and organizationally coordinated participation of ministries and departments in the vocational orientation of young people while taking into account the specific requirements of these or those cities and rayons. And party committees should devote special attention to this side of the work.

We are also concerned with the fact that a part of the graduates of vocational-technical schools does not stay at production collectives. The State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education and school party organizations need to seriously think about this. At the same time, we have the right to require of each ministry and department that secures cadres from the vocational and technical education system more active participation in the retention of the young working generation.

The Komsomol organization is doing much in the forming of political, civic and moral qualities in young people. It is an initiator of many labor initiatives and makes a significant contribution to the republic's national economy. Komsomol organizations are directly engaged in political work. For example, a wide-scale antiwar action "I Vote for Peace" has just successfully taken place in the republic. In it more than 100,000 young men and women took part. Still Komsomol organizations are quite spiritless in looking for new and interesting forms of work with different categories of youth. One does not always sense political direction in their initiatives. Sometimes the mere entertainment side predominates. As before the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee and Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms show little understanding of the internationalization of the life of young collectives.

They also do not work sufficiently with people who are popular with the youth, for example, with "diskory" [disk jockeys (?)] and heads of musical ensembles, who draw to themselves thousands of boys and girls.

Komsomol organizations must be determined and aggressive in their initiatives. It all depends on a sober and thoughtful approach to happenings, on purposeful and energetic organizational work and on the ability to bring to completion what has been started.

The preparation of young people for their future work life is a capacious concept. It is important for young people to be able to take into consideration the rights and interests of other people and to be able to live in a collective, including in an international one.

The upbringing of the young generation is increasingly become an object of concern of the broadest circles of the public. But this in no way reduces the role and responsibility of the teacher. There where local soviet and party organs understand this, as, for example, in Vil'yandiskiy Rayon, educational institutions are staffed with skilled cadres. Teachers have been working for tens of years in their schools, and the teaching profession enjoys high prestige. And the other way around. There where the needs of the school receive little attention, the problem of teaching cadres speaks for itself in a loud voice. It is particularly acute in Vyruskiy Rayon--here only 55 percent of the teachers have a higher education. A basic deterrent to additions of young specialists to pedagogic collectives is poor availability of housing. Party committees should pay more attention to the living conditions of teachers. At the same time, it is necessary to make stricter demands on teachers for results from educational work.

The serious, responsible tasks facing us in regard to the education of the young generation demand special, increased attention to teachers and to their spiritual, moral character, outlook, skills and ideological and civic maturity. The fact is that the education of the future teacher begins in a pedagogical VUZ, in the university. And in this connection, it would be useful to analyze how admittance is conducted of future teachers, how their training is organized and whether everything has been done to see to it that there emerge from within the walls of VUZ's real preceptors of young people, who are well trained both professionally and politically. We think that ministries of education and of higher education should devote to this their utmost serious attention.

In conclusion Comrade K. Vayno dwelt on party work style.

Of late the Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee have been determinedly looking for ways of improving their work and the entire apparatus of the Central Committee. Take, for example, the ideological departments. They have reduced the reporting required from the localities. They have started the practice of group trips of officials of the Central Committee to provide assistance to gorkoms and raykoms, and not just for one day. Without rejecting traditional forms of contact with the aktiv--meetings, conferences and seminars--they have started to conduct more joint discussions of pressing problems with secretaries of primary party organizations and with scientists.

At the same time, ideological workers still lack system and consistency. They still issue many general instructions that are not "grounded," not tied in to a specific situation. Expenditures of time are slow in being reduced on meetings, on the compilation and discussion of various information.

Most frequently this occurs because of an inability to conduct work. Personnel of the ideological departments and agencies should better know real life and study and analyze more deeply the processes that are taking place in it. It is necessary to constantly improve one's skill, to study on one's own and to teach the ideological aktiv. As Comrade Yu.V. Andropov said at the Plenum, they must be authoritative, educated people. We have in mind the high professionalism of our ideological cadres. No more dangerous enemies exist for educational work than lack of skill, ignorance, incompetence and the stereotyped routine, formalism and red tape they give rise to.

Improvement of our style of work and bringing it into line with the requirements of the time--this is a problem facing all party committees and public organizations from the bottom to the top.

Recently quite a bit has been done in strengthening labor discipline and increasing the personal accountability of every communist for putting the party line into practice.

The demand on communists, especially communist leaders entrusted with important sectors of work and entire labor collectives, will continue to grow. It is necessary to be able to mobilize people for coordinated, effective work. Our cadres should be evaluated not by their words and assurances but by deeds and end results. This is why the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia was recently obliged to release Comrade Gladyshev from the position of chief of the Estonian branch of the Baltic Railway that he occupied because of inability to handle the work.

And the employment by executive personnel of their official position for selfish purposes is quite intolerable. It is difficult to imagine what moral educational damage this inflicts on society and the party. M. Kukli, the former director of Pioner Plant, taught honesty and fairness to his subordinates. And how can it now be explained to people why the director, a former communist, turned out to be a petty thief, coveting a bag of onions at the time of providing voluntary assistance to the fruit and vegetable trading organization. Any comments, as they say, would be superfluous!

Supervisors should not receive discounts for anything. This increased insistence on high standards for cadres is a dictate of the time.

A weak spot continues to be control of execution. The principal trouble is that we are still unable to achieve complete and timely fulfillment of undertaken decisions. It must be an incontestable rule: the fulfillment of a decision must be started immediately after its adoption, on the same day, and be completed only then when it has been fully executed. Here it is necessary to employ the great resources of people's control. The CPSU Central Committee has set the task crystal clear: to undertake new decisions only on cardinal, key problems and only in those cases where prior ones have already been executed. Such is the requirement of the present style of work.

We must significantly, at least by 15-20 percent, reduce the quantity of paper circulating among various departments, including party committees. Of course, one can't entirely do without paper, but correspondence and the conduct of current affairs contains much that is superfluous and sometimes useless. Is it right when even in a single ministry departments send papers to each other.

Party committees strictly and in a principled manner determine locally how truly necessary for practical work, for the adoption of decisions, these or other inquiries, reports and other information are. In a word, less paper, more live contacts and effective, vital organizational work. And this too is a requirement of present-day style.

We must strengthen ties with the masses, candidly speak with people about concrete tasks facing the country, the republic, the rayon and the enterprise today and in a qualified manner answer the questions troubling people and also more frequently directly appear at labor collectives. In other words, we refer to deepening the connection of all our actions with real life, with concrete situations. And this also comes under the understanding of contemporary style.

It is very important, as was emphasized at the June plenum, to provide indeed for a clear-cut distribution of functions of organs of the party and the state. Their mixing, incidentally, still is committed by many party committees when they assume functions that are unfamiliar and not characteristic of them. On listening to economic affairs, party personnel sometimes are unable to determine their party role in the solution of this or that question; they lose sight of organizational party and mass political questions. It is necessary to place basic stress on strengthening the mobilizing role of party committees.

Thus these are the questions pertaining to improvement of the style of our party work on which the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia considers it necessary to concentrate now the attention of the party organization.

In conclusion, Comrade K. Vayno offered the assurance that the republic party organization will apply all its efforts to put into practice the decisions of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the directives of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov and the tasks set by the 26th party congress.

7697

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REGIONAL

KAZAKH PRIMARY PARTY SECRETARIES GIVEN TRAINING AT GORKOMS

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by A. Bokayev, chief of the Kazakh Communist Party Shevchenko gorkom Organizational Party Work Department: "The Secretaries Are Studying"]

[Text] Some 111 primary party organizations, more than 300 shop party organizations and more than 190 party groups, which together unite 7,000 communists, are operating in the city of Shevchenko. More than two-thirds of the secretaries and party group organizers are national economic specialists. About 70 percent of them have higher or incomplete higher educations. The party gorkom pays constant attention to improving their practical skills and raising their ideological-political level and it is also looking for and introducing new, more effective ways to train secretaries. One such is training periods in the party gorkom. This has been practised since 1980. During this time about 350 people have passed through this school.

When drawing up the plan for training periods, consideration is given to the fact that training will be given not only to secretaries of primary party organizations but also to the leaders of shop groups (with the rights of primary party organizations). In accordance with this, plans are drawn up on a differential basis. The plan and schedule for the training periods are confirmed in the gorkom bureau. They commence in January and go on through August.

During the week the secretaries are obliged to attend first the department appropriate for them and then, on a mandatory basis, the organizational department and the propaganda and agitation department. Here they become acquainted with the instructors and their activities and the plans for the party gorkom and so forth.

In the organizational department the secretaries study CPSU Central Committee instructions and party and government decrees and familiarize themselves with the practical preparation of materials in the bureau, the organization of control over execution of adopted decisions, the system for acting upon communists' critical remarks and proposals, and the planning of party work. The position on payment of party members' dues, work on selecting new candidates for the party ranks and improving the structure of the party organization are also covered.

In the propaganda and agitation department the trainees study questions of organizing and holding studies within the system of party and Komsomol political enlightenment and work at places of residence, and they study methods of ideological support for socialist competition.

The plan for conducting training periods also provides for mandatory participation by secretaries in measures being implemented by the party gorkom, the preparation of questions in the bureau, and intermediate checks on the course of fulfillment of resolutions.

Shortcomings exist in the training periods for secretaries of the party organizations associated primarily with the fact that it is not always possible to devote the necessary attention to the trainees. It sometimes happens that secretaries are sent for the entire period of their training to a given party organization in order to deal with a particular matter. When this occurs they have no opportunity for studying the theoretical part of the program.

9642
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REGIONAL

KAZAKH CP CC BUREAU DISCUSSES HEAT, ELECTRICITY BREAKDOWNS TO ALMA-ATA

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 83 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau"]

[Text] At its regular meeting the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau discussed measures to improve the reliability of the electricity and heat supplies for Alma-Ata city. The resolution adopted provided for the construction of a 500 kilowatt power transmission line along the route Agadyr--South Kazakhstan GRES--Alma-Ata in order to transmit electric power from Ekibastuz to the Alma-Ata power system, and also the construction and commissioning of capacities at the Alma-Ata TETs and GRES, the Novo-Zapadnyy boiler plant and the mainline heating networks and the reconstruction of gas and fuel oil and water-heated boilers at TETs-1 and the Western Region boiler plant, and also the resolution of other matters. All this will make it possible to significantly improve the reliability of electricity and heat supplies for Alma-Ata city. At the same time the Kazakh SSR Gosplan, a number of republic ministries and administrations and the Alma-Ata city executive committee have been assigned the task of working out and implementing measures that will insure maximum reductions in heat losses in housing and other premises, and also reduce the consumption of hot water for production and domestic needs; and of establishing operating conditions annually for the city's enterprises, taking into account reductions in demand for power during the peak hours for electricity demand such as would not be to the detriment of fulfillment of established plans.

The central committee bureau examined questions of coarse and succulent procurement in the republic. It was noted that party, soviet and agricultural organs are doing substantial work to stockpile these very important kinds of farm produce and to provide them for livestock farming in full measure. By the latter half of August one-third more fodder had been stockpiled in the republic than in the corresponding period last year. Workers in Kustanay, Dzhezkazgan and Turgay oblasts have fulfilled pledges to stockpile all kinds of fodder. Karaganda, Uralsk, Tselinograd and Mangyshlak oblasts are procuring above-plan hay.

At the same time the central committee bureau noted that some sovkhoz and kolkhoz leaders in Dzhambul, Chimkent, Taldy-Kurgan and Kzyl-Orda oblasts are working only slowly to stockpile fodder, especially hay, even though the

harvesting of grain crops is completed. Since the start of grain crop harvesting, hay procurement rates have declined at farms in East Kazakhstan, Kokchetav and Pavlodar oblasts.

The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has made it incumbent on party oblast and rayon committees, on oblast and rayon executive committees, and the republic ministries of agriculture and of the fruit and vegetable industry and their local organs to take immediate and exhaustive steps to strengthen work on the procurement of coarse and succulent fodders and to eliminate shortcomings and omissions in this matter. They must enhance exactingness toward the leaders and specialists in sovkhozes, kolkhozes, agricultural organs and agrarian-industrial associations for the unconditional fulfillment and over-fulfillment of plans for the stockpiling of coarse and succulent fodders and insure that demand from livestock farming and for cattle kept by citizens on private plots is fully satisfied.

The meeting also considered measures to further improve commercial horticulture on low-mountainous and middle-mountainous land in the Zailiyskiy Alatau zone, and to develop the tourist and excursion network and strengthen its material-technical base. The draft for a new set of editorial rules prepared by the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Linguistics jointly with the republic Ministry of Education for orthography for the Kazakh language, and other matters, were also discussed.

9642

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REGIONAL

KAZAKH BRIGADE WAGE APPORTIONMENT DESCRIBED

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by G. Gladchenko, machine tool operator brigade leader at the Kokchetav Oxygen Respiration Equipment Plant: "A Reliable Criterion: the Coefficient of Labor Participation"]

[Text] Existing methods for distributing total wages in brigades working on the single-job basis are, unfortunately, still far from perfect. Wage leveling is still common. We have ascertained, for example, that orientation on the job does not take into account many of the components of work quality. Formerly we used to use the coefficient of labor participation, presenting all data at the end of the month to the brigade council. But this did not enable accurate consideration of the specific contribution of each person to the common success. Over a 3-year period the brigade independently worked out its own method, which is as follows.

Our collective produces 30 designated articles. Let us say that the monthly target has been brought up to 2,200 standard hours. At a general meeting we have confirmed the brigade norm for each article. A worker receives a coefficient of 1 for its fulfillment. A 20-percent underfulfillment or overfulfillment means that he receives a coefficient of 0.80 or 1.2 respectively.

At the end of the month we divide the total wage into totals for the daily coefficients of all brigade members. In this way the worth of one coefficient-of-labor-participation-day enables us to objectively calculate each person's monthly wage.

We have now been working with the new method for 4 months and there are no complaints. What is more, during this time work done by the brigade has increased more than 30 percent. We consider this to be a serious argument in the struggle for highly productive labor. We are by no means convinced that the method that we are using is ideal. We have cited it only to show how important it is to consider the principle of distribution according to labor in cost-accounting brigades. There is a great reserve here for increasing work efficiency. We are convinced that the method being used makes it possible to make each hour of our work productive.

9642

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REGIONAL

FIGHT AGAINST 'FORMALISM', 'INERTIA' IN PERM OBLAST DETAILED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by Yu. Nikolayev and V. Ogurtsov: "On Efficiency in Essence -- The Bureau of the Perm Obkom Discusses the M. Nazarov Article 'The Appearance of Work'"*]

[Text] First secretary of the Chaykovskiy CPSU Gorkom M. Nazarov's article "The Appearance of Work," published by SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA on 17 July, received wide recognition in Perm Oblast. They are arguing about it in party committees and at meetings in primary organizations. It is likely that this was promoted by re-printing of the article in the oblast newspaper ZVEZDA and the fact that the party obkom pointed the article out to the CPSU city and rayon committee secretaries.

Overcome Formalism!

We must confess that we went to the oblast committee bureau meeting where it was intended to discuss the article not without apprehension. After all, M. Nazarov had expressed anxiety not about details or individual shortcomings, but rather about the level and style of party work, including daily practices of the obkom. How would his article be accepted? But our apprehension was unfounded. They obviously did not intend to escape from party criticism during the discussion nor to go into details there. Obkom first secretary B. V. Konoplev, opening the bureau, warned:

"For all of us, I hope, it is not a question of whether Mikhail Nikolayevich Nazarov was right or not. I think everyone is disturbed by the same thing the author of the article is disturbed by -- the urgent problem of improving the efficiency of party committee work. Let us once again think about how we can best fulfill the resolutions of the November 1982 and June 1983 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, bring our style into accordance with their requirements, and overcome elements of formalism. How can we work to see that the outward appearance of the matter does not deceive anyone or confuse anyone?

According to the opinion of B. V. Konoplev what is particularly alarming is a certain inertia of individual party workers who understand very well the need for greater efficiency and the damage of formalism, but who nevertheless for some reason still expect someone to come from somewhere else and help achieve the necessary quality and eliminate various obstacles. This opinion is confirmed by specific examples.

* [Excerpts from M. Nazarov's article appear in JPRS 84243 USSR REPORT, Political and Sociological Affairs, 1 September 1983]

Recently the Kungur Gorkom bureau reviewed tasks of the party organization of the local oil and gas extraction administration to strengthen labor, production, and technological discipline. It would be logical here to show how the matter stands in reality, what the partkom and administration are still missing, and what needs to be done to put things in the right order. In other words, to determine a precise program of action. Nevertheless, the sluggish discussion, to say nothing of the very generally formulated decree that was adopted hardly facilitated achieving the goal. But rather the opposite, it dampened the ardor of some people. The indistinct style of the gorkom leadership was prominently reflected in the party document itself. The decree instructed petroleum workers to devise measures within the month for the agenda discussed. Further, general appeals went out using such phrases as "increase," "direct attention," "improve," and so forth, but not binding anyone to anything. Similar documents appeared in abundance in Vereshchagino, Ocher, Krasnovishersk, and Usol'ye not to mention several other gorkoms and raykoms. It is not difficult to imagine what a great number of people were diverted from their own direct obligations to collect all possible information, to hold long vigils, and to write unnecessary papers!

Was the appearance of all these identical decrees accidental? And are they so very harmless? It appeared that the partkoms reacted to pressings instructions and discussed them. And the fact that it is practically impossible to supervise directives which consist of collections of general phrases is sometimes very convenient: show, they say, that we didn't "increase," "pay attention," or "improve."

Striving to expose shortcomings certainly was not an end-in-itself. The obkom bureau once again convincingly and graphically showed everyone there, where and which manifestations of formalism they can and are obligated to overcome if they want to develop competency in themselves, the skill to comprehend deeply life phenomena and to try to solve in practice the most complex tasks. It is also valuable that current practices in some places, of working out such "mobilizing" -- as it were -- party resolutions were thoroughly and deeply analyzed. Raykom secretaries frankly pointed out shortcomings in the style of work of the CPSU obkom also. It also sometimes adopts decrees which are difficult to put into practice because of their groundlessness and lack of thought. First secretary of the Ordzhonikidzevskiy CPSU raykom of the city of Perm V. A. Lepeshkin alluded, let us say, to the following case. Three years ago the obkom bureau ratified a program for building vegetable storage facilities at Krasovo. So they did ratify it, but up to this point no one has gotten around to solving the practical questions of financing and procurement of materials.

"They are criticizing us for failures, but what can be done?" the raykom secretary asked. "Force the enterprises -- find and give up your own strictly allocated materials. Or learn how to get around the laws more cleverly?"

During the discussion of M. Nazarov's article many grievances were expressed against the party oblast committee, the oblispolkom, and its services, in particular for their unceasing petty surveillance of the local organs.

"It's easy to work in local areas now; one doesn't have to think or guess!" first secretary of the Bol'shesosnovskiy CPSU raykom N. V. Uzdryayev observed with sarcasm. "One even thinks: why are you and your comrades in the rayon? They envision everything for us, with a special letter, with a telegram or by telephone they indicate when to take lime to the fields, when to begin turning in scrap metal

when to start harvesting, how and with what quality to perform interrow tillage of crops, when and at what weight to turn in livestock, and what the percentage of copper in nonferrous scrap metal should be."

How Many Orders Are Needed?

The question arose: Is the Bol'shesosnovskiy secretary possibly exaggerating his idea too much? In order to convince the audience of the correctness of his opinions he drew out a huge batch of telegrams. Contained in them are instructions of the obkom and other oblast organizations for almost all occasions in the life of the rayon. Moreover, they are given under the noisy accompaniment of fashionable appeals for initiative and independence.

Following Uzdyayev first secretary of the Suksunskiy raykom M. P. Oborin spoke:

"We calculated that with the creation of oblast and rayon agroindustrial complexes, the flow of papers would dry up. But nothing of the kind happened," he complained. "In the first seven months of the year our RAPD [rayon agroindustrial association] has received 582 directive letters, 84 radiograms, and 32 telegrams, not counting oral telephone instructions. There is surely no question here of independence!"

"Justifiable reproaches," noted B. V. Konoplev, chairman of the meeting. "Let us figure out where the sources of this paper activism come from and why party committees at times enter so earnestly into purely economic functions."

And here it becomes clear that the "mechanics" of the involvement by party committees in economic concerns have been worked out in detail. Participants in the discussion traced it thoroughly through the actions of the oblast administration of grain products. The administration always knows in good time that toward the beginning of the harvest of the new grain, grain-receiving points should be ready, areas must be black-topped, and weighing, laboratory, and loading-unloading facilities should be brought to readiness. On that account special decrees are adopted every year. They are not fulfilled. The harvest begins, and the administration managers run to the obkom: Guard! Save us! And there is nothing else for the obkom to do. They have to save them. And from somewhere they get people and machinery and speed up preparation of the areas and grain-receiving points. Although if one were to count, the number of personnel in the administration is several times greater than that of the obkom. If they could see to everything in good time, it would be entirely possible to get along without nannies and props.

As the very same N. V. Uzdyayev noted, oblast managers of some building administrations and trusts act even more keenly if they are asked to work in a remote rayon. Initially the argument is put forward: "You don't have people there; we can't support the PMK [mobile mechanized column]." The rayon looks for and finally finds people. Then they answer: "Even so we are not going to build; there are no materials." The rayon with all its authority extracts the needed resources and ceilings. And there is a new objection: "We don't have anything to carry the materials in to the remote area," they say. "Find transport." Transport is not easy for the rayon, but they make concessions: "Take all the trucks that aren't being used on Saturday and Sunday." Quickly the answer comes back:

"We will not be able to load or take materials on free days. Our workers rest." And again the rayon ponders what to do, and nevertheless proposes a practical solution. But they still do not listen: "Your planning documentation is out of date."

The builders continually involve obkom personnel in dispatch and supply operations. They spend so much time in meetings at the headquarters of large building sites! With such style the workers of the sectorial departments of the party obkom cannot make it to remote areas, and they do not have any strength or time left for dealing with the communists.

The style and methods of work of the agricultural department of the party obkom provoked much censure from those present. Rural raykom secretaries impartially expressed something which had become painful, which possibly had been clear for some time.

Many of the speakers returned to M. Nazarov's idea that principles and methods of activity should be distinctive to each level of party leadership.

Self-Criticism -- Stimulus to Action

Why do managers of various administrations of the oblistpikom and many economic managers strive to secure the signature of party personnel on orders which they are sending to the rayons? Certainly because they realize: their own personal authority and competency are insufficient to move some matter ahead. So they "attach" the obkom and raykoms. Initially the joint signatures were practiced on key documents meant for long-term effect. Now they strive to secure the authority of party committees even more often in delivering operational instructions, even the most specific ones.

There is something to think about here.

The speakers also addressed claims of similar practices against the obkom bureau. In the first place it bears responsibility for personnel policy in the oblast. And, most likely, the bureau correctly concluded that it would be advisable to strengthen its work precisely in the oblast links of the Soviet and economic apparatus. The time has come to increase their authority, efficiency, and responsibility. Certain recommendations were suggested to party committee secretaries in local areas also. After all, the problem of proper distribution of functions of party, Soviet, and economic organs is no less, and in fact even more acute, for them.

Here various sides of the mutual relationship of oblast and rayon and city committees are touched upon, and a fundamental evaluation was given to the actions of those specific party workers who themselves are often satisfied with only the appearance of the matter and involve rayon and primary party organizations in gathering a huge quantity of all kinds of information, in writing documents of doubtful value, and holding excessive meetings. It appeared that the obkom department of propaganda and agitation had taken good initiative in establishing an oblast press center. But here too there were costs: the raykoms were charged with the responsibility of giving information on almost 80 different indicators. Again, how many people were taken away from their business!

Practically all the participants in the discussion emphasized that M. Nazarov's article left none of the party workers indifferent. It was justifiably noted that the bureau and the secretariat of the obkom gave a good example at one time when they reported their work on fulfilling the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress at the oblast committee plenum. The stern discussion then was imprinted on many people's minds. Other party committees also held similar plenums. Having drawn fire on themselves, the bureau of the obkom and the gorkoms and raykoms managed to derive considerable benefit and introduced important correctives in forms and methods of work. And this has already brought certain results. In particular, already in 1982 the flow of papers from them to the lower levels, to the primary party organizations, was decreased by 2-3 times. Concentration, efficiency, and initiative have become greater in the activities of the partkoms.

Understandably, all of this had a beneficial effect on the life of the oblast. For example, in the first two and one-half years of the current five-year plan production of industrial output increased by more than 2 billion rubles in comparison with the corresponding period of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Agricultural toilers took a huge step forward. Plans for purchasing all kinds of agricultural output are successfully being fulfilled this year.

Recently, however, paper activism has once again begun to grow in place of practical activism. In some places they were obviously in a hurry to be content with the first improvements. This means that the party obkom and some raykoms and gorkoms still were not consistent enough in carrying out the very long-range policy which they themselves worked out.

The Perm CPSU Obkom conducted a major discussion, stern and principled in the party style, on this very important question. Based on M. Nazarov's article and taking into account the exchange of opinions that was held with gorkom and raykom secretaries, the party obkom bureau adopted a decree in which practical measures for increasing efficiency and improving work style were outlined.

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